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- ART. I.—1. *Horæ Decanicæ Rurales, being an Attempt to illustrate, by a Series of Notes and Extracts, the Name and Title, the Origin, Appointment, and Functions, Personal and Capitular, of Rural Deans, with a few Incidental Remarks on the Rise and Decay of Rural Bishops, and on the Incardination of Parochial Clergy; to which is added an Appendix of Documents, ancient and modern.* By William Dansey, A.M. Rector of Donhead, St. Andrew, Rural Dean of Chalke, Wilts. 2 vols. London. Rivingtons. 1835.
2. *The State of the Metropolis considered, in a Letter to the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.* By Baptist Wriothsley Noel, M.A. Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. London: Nisbet and Co. 1835.

THE volumes which stand first at the head of this article are of a character and form which we love to look upon. They are, altogether, redolent of good old times. The title-page is partly in black ink, and partly in red: and much of it is in the type usually known by the name of *black letter*,—though, evidently, without the slightest reference to its complexion; which may be either red, or blue, or green, without impeachment of its right to the distinction implied by the epithet in question. And then, the whole *getting up* of the book carries back the imagination into the midst of by-gone centuries. The heading of each page is in *black letter*—really and positively *black*; and it is inclosed between two parallel lines, which fence it off from the text. Moreover, all the technical words, indicative of rank and office, are, throughout, exhibited in the same dark and awful typography; and are, thus, made to stand out, in solemn relief, from the body of the page. Lastly, the very shape of the volume is not of the present day. It is a small-sized quarto, with a somewhat spacious

margin, ample enough for the commodious and honourable reception of the references; which, by the prevailing fashion of our time, are generally degraded to the station of the foot-notes. So that, if we were to see the work lying open, for the first time, nothing but the freshness of the paper, and the beauty of the execution, would lead us to doubt that we were about to converse with one who lived in the land, when its literature was racy, and its intellectual pioneers were robust and brawny, and when the very outward costume of publication had about it something quaint, fantastic, and original.

From the very bottom of our souls, we pity the man who affects to regard these as unimportant matters! We are firm believers in the physiognomy of books, as well as men. And we collect, with entire confidence, from the aspect of *this* book, that the author of it has the organ of veneration brought out into ample development; that organ, without which no man was ever an accomplished antiquarian. We should have no doubt whatever of this, even if we had not perused a single page of these volumes. But an examination of their contents has potently confirmed our judgment. They are evidently the work of one who loves and reverences the Church, with all his faculties. Her history, her antiquities, her services, her functionaries, her outward and visible attributes, her inward and spiritual influences,—all are, evidently, invested, in his sight, with an inexpressible charm, which deprives the word *labour* of any formidable, or even intelligible, meaning, so long as her interest and her honour are involved in his researches. And then, together with the patience, he has all the simplicity, and good humour, and *bonhomie*, which are essential ingredients in the genuine antiquarian character. It is pleasant to see him surveying, not with dismay, but with positive delight, the store and treasure of his authorities; and to hear him lamenting, that his want of opportunities and facilities denies him the inestimable privilege of unearthing buried manuscripts, revelling in the odour of time-honoured parchment, and choking in the dust of Episcopal muniment-rooms!

In spite, however, of all the disadvantages deplored by him, he has done the Church admirable service by the present compilation. He has placed within the easy reach of every Churchman all the knowledge which can possibly be needful, relative to a very ancient, and very important office. He has relieved us from the necessity of buffeting embattled folios. He has furnished to all, who may be desirous of co-operating towards the effective restoration of the Church's discipline, a mass of valuable and curious information, illustrative of primitive zeal, and of ancient manners, and of long-forgotten customs. As a book of

reference, we hold his work to be indispensable to the library of every intelligent Clergyman. In short, his labours are precisely of a kind peculiarly appropriate to the wants of the present day. Without any wearisome iteration of the cry that the Church is in danger, we may quietly assume, as a notorious matter, that the Church is in a condition which requires, not only that the things which remain unto her should be strengthened; but that the things which once were her's, should be revived, and brought out into action; so far, at least, as they can be made applicable to the present frame of society, and be converted into elements of activity, and vigour, and salutary influence. We have, therefore, abundant cause of thankfulness to any of her ministers who, like this writer, will boldly throw himself back into the depth of ages which have rolled away; and question closely with the experience, and the wisdom,—or even with the weakness and the folly,—of the olden time; and present, within a manageable compass, the result of his adventures, to his over-laboured brethren; harassed and distracted, as many of them are, with toils and cares fatally adverse to habits of deep and laborious research; working, as they many of them do, in the very midst of the fire, which, at this moment, is raging through the land,—and which threatens to consume whatever has the mark of antiquity upon it, as if it were so much hay, or stubble, or dry and sapless wood.

The department of ancient discipline which the author has selected for illustration, is one of remarkable interest, on two accounts. First, the office of Rural Dean was, in former days, nearly universal, and embraced a very large extent and variety of duties: and, secondly, the partial restoration of that office is now becoming an object of great and commendable solicitude in the highest places of the Church. The first institution of this office,—more especially in the Western Church,—is a matter involved in some obscurity. But the outline of its history appears to be as follows. Bishops, it is well known, were originally placed in cities, with the superintendence of a surrounding region, or *παροιμία*. The spread of Christianity, however, gradually brought with it an accumulation of duties, which rendered assistance indispensable to the diocesan. The rural parts of the *παροιμία*, or diocese, were accordingly divided into districts (*χώραι*), and consigned to the care of prelates, who bore the title of *χωρεπίσκοποι*, or *district-bishops*. In one sense, these officers were *subordinate* and *vicarious*, inasmuch as they were the assistants and delegates of the diocesan. But, according to the best authorities, in point of *order*, they were not inferior to the diocesan himself; being invested with plenary episcopal rank and function, and, consequently, distinct from the next inferior grade of the Presbyterate.

In the course of time, this constitution of things was not found to work so happily as might have been expected. It would seem that these rural prelates began, at length, to affect a lofty independence of the supreme bishop of the diocese, and to exercise their episcopal power in a manner which was thought injurious to ecclesiastical regularity and discipline. A remedy for the evil was sought in the abolition of the office of the Chorepiscopus, and the substitution of itinerant or visiting Presbyters. This change was brought about so early as the year 360, by a canon of the council of Laodicea; which ordains that “it is not fit that *bishops* should be placed over villages, or districts, but *circuiters* (περιοδευται); that where bishops had been so placed, previously to the canon, they should do nothing without the approbation of the bishop in the city; and that the Presbyters”—(that is, the Presbyters who should be appointed *circuiters* or visitors)—“should, in like manner, do nothing without the bishop’s approbation.” The περιοδευτής, thus substituted for the χωρεπίσκοπος, is, doubtless, the archetype of the functionary afterwards known by the various titles of ἐξαρχος, πρωτοπρεσβύτερος, πρωτοίερεϋς, and πρωτοπάπας; and, in the Western Church, more generally by that of *Rural Dean*.

There is no certain evidence that the office of Rural Dean was introduced into this country at an earlier period than the eleventh century. But it seems beyond all question that, when it was once established, it involved a very comprehensive range of duty. The function was evidently one of great importance. It was among the most effective and powerful wheels in the mechanism of ecclesiastical discipline. To his personal vigilance was entrusted the vicarious visitation of the rural cantonments of the diocese,—the supervision of the clergy within it, with reference to their life, manners, and the discharge of their ministry,—the detection of heresy,—the suppression of vice, in all its forms and varieties,—the support of churches and ecclesiastical mansions,—in short, the care of all things which concerned the service of Almighty God. Among subordinate matters, the Rural Dean was responsible for the due observance of the sacerdotal crown and tonsure by the clergy of his district; and was authorized to reduce, by main force,—yea, with his own hand,—the skulls of refractory and disobedient priests, to due conformity, in this particular. Moreover, if there were found within his limits any persons who came under the description of *Clerici Ribaldi*, (in other words, clergymen who degraded their profession by the profane practices of juggling, stage-playing, and buffoonery,) the Rural Dean was required to disgrace him by obliterating the sacred tonsure from his cranium! He was, further, expected to see that

every thing connected with the altar was kept with becoming propriety; more particularly the holy eucharist itself, and the *καλυμμάτιον*, or *corporale*, on which it was deposited: and he was to take especial care that the latter was of pure white linen, and washed only by a deacon or priest attired in his surplice. He was, lastly, to provide that the coverings, and sacerdotal vests, and all other things consecrated to the altar, should be cleansed, apart from the contamination of unhallowed clothes, by some pure and pious virgin, or matron of unimpeachable character. Such, at least, were the duties of the Archpresbyter, in many parts of the Continent; and there is no reason for believing that they were less various and extensive, when the office was introduced into this country. It would, further, appear that—(if the custom in England were similar to that in other parts of Europe)—the secular burdens incident to this distinction must often have been commensurate with its spiritual dignity; for our author has presented to us a sumptuary ordinance of the Council of Pavia, held in the year 855, to the following effect:—"We ordain that the Bishops, when they go the circuit of their parishes, for the purpose of administering confirmation to the people, shall not oppress their Archpresbyters"—(Rural Deans)—"but shall be content with the following" (*extremely moderate*) "scale of entertainment: viz. one hundred loaves, four young pigs, sixty quarts of wine, seven pullets, fifty eggs, one lamb, one porker, six bushels (*modi*) of provender for the horses, three measures (*corbes*?) of hay; honey, oil, and wax, *quantum sufficit!*" This, be it remembered, was the reformed measure of purveyance. So that our imaginations are left at full liberty to estimate what must have been the amount of refection, in those good times, when no restraint was placed upon the hospitality of Rural Deans, or the voracity and number of Episcopal retainers. But the costly honour of entertaining the travelling dignitaries of the Church was by no means the most formidable appendage to the office of a Rural Archpresbyter. His function was frequently a post of danger, as well as of inconvenient expense. The duties he had to discharge were, at times, exceedingly unpopular. It was his business to see that the Episcopal citations and summonses were regularly served, and properly returned; and, moreover, that Ecclesiastical censures were duly inflicted. For these purposes, he was provided with a sufficient retinue of apparitors, —a race of men, which never enjoyed much credit for refinement of feeling, urbanity of deportment, or moderation of demand! The consequence was, that the sanctity of the Archpresbyter's person was not always sufficient to protect him from violence and

insult. Of the scurvy treatment to which he was occasionally exposed, the following instance is given by Mr. Dansey, from *Prynne's Papal Usurpations*. One Richard Christian, Rural Dean of Ospringe in Kent, had been sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury to execute certain citations, and to despatch sundry other matters pertaining to his office, at a town called *Sellinges*. On reaching the place, he was seized by certain evil doers, and disturbers of the peace, who placed him on his horse with his face towards the rump; and, in this guise, compelled him to ride through the town, holding the tail of the animal in his hand, instead of a bridle, in the midst of the shouts, and songs, and ribald buffoonery of the mob. Not content with this, the brutal ruffians cut off the horse's tail, ears, and lips, and rolled the reverend Archpresbyter in the mud; who, of course, was fain to escape as he could, without executing his commission! When this outrage took place, we are not informed; but it conveys a somewhat fearful notion of the rough responsibilities laid upon the Rural Dean, in remote and semi-barbarous times. The dangers of his office are illustrated by another instance,—though not of quite so savage a type,—which occurred in the time, and diocese, of Bishop Grostête. It appears, that Roger de Lexington, one of the King's itinerant justices, with his associates, ventured to hold pleas of blood on a Sunday, at Lincoln. The *Dean of Christianity*—(so the *Rural Dean* was sometimes called)—boldly remonstrated against this breach of the Sabbath, and told their lordships that “it was a thing that ought not to be done.” The dispensers of *justice* were furiously incensed at the presumption of the *meddling Churchman*! They loaded him with opprobrious language; shut up the door of his house; took possession of his own personal effects, together with some goods belonging to his relatives; and seized on certain lands, held by him in trust for his nieces, to the King's use! That he did not, however, exceed his authority, in rebuking the judges, on this occasion, would appear from the fact, that Grostête sent a letter of expostulation to the Sabbath-breaking Justice; in which he affirmed, that the Dean was worthy of commendation and reward, rather than of punishment and persecution, for cautioning them against a violation of the Sabbath; and that he would have been culpable himself, if he had omitted to apprize them of their sin*.

This was in 1246; from which it appears, that at that period the Rural Dean was still a functionary of no ordinary consideration and importance in the Church. His authority and dignity were, further, exalted by the power, with which he had been long

* Pegge's Life of Grostête, p. 38, cited in the Hor. Dec. vol. i. p. 230, note (2).

invested, of summoning periodical meetings, by the name of *Rural Chapters*, or *Decanal Synods*; the members of which were the parochial incumbents of the deanery, or their curates, as proxies; and of which the Dean himself was, *ex officio*, the president. There are traces of these clerical conventions, in England, as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor. Their business became, gradually, very comprehensive: and, at last, involved much of that sort of *contentious* jurisdiction which now belongs to our Ecclesiastical Courts. The *Dean of Christianity*, sitting in chapter, had even power to suspend laymen from the Sacraments, and clergymen from the execution of their office. In short, he could exercise an authority nearly resembling that which is exercised, at this day, by the *Deans*, in the Channel Islands; where, in the absence of the higher Church-functionaries, the primitive authority of the Decanal office is supported in full vigour. It would seem, however, that, in the course of ages, the vast jurisdiction which had been accumulated, by imperceptible degrees, in the person of this officer, and his assistants, had led to considerable corruption and abuse. These evils were, eventually, remedied by the Constitution of Cardinal Otho, in 1238; which authorised and required the Archdeacon to appear frequently, as an assessor, at the Rural Chapters, throughout his Archdeaconry. This intrusive power, though slackly exercised at first, introduced an essential change into the constitution of these assemblies; and, at last, though very gradually, wrought their dissolution. The result was, that the jurisdiction of the Rural Synods was absorbed in that of the Archdeacon and his officials.

By the time of the Reformation, the office of Rural Dean had fallen into desuetude, throughout the greater part of England. An attempt was made to restore it by the Compilers of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, in the time of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. One chapter of this code is devoted to the subject. The following is the substance of the enactment which describes the duties of the officer in question: "Let each Deanery have its Rural Archpresbyter, to be placed over it, either by the Bishop, or by the Ordinary of the Church. His office shall be annual. And here, as from a watch-tower, he shall keep a vigilant look out, upon the Presbyters, Deacons, Wardens, and Sextons, that each may perform what appertains to his office. Let him make inquiry concerning idolaters, heretics, persons guilty of simony, adultery, fornication, drunkenness, bigamy, or any other scandalous vice: also, concerning witches and magicians, slanderers and blasphemers, falsifiers of last wills, perjurers, and violators of Royal or Episcopal injunctions. Let him have

authority to summon, and examine, persons suspected of such delinquencies. Within ten days, he shall report in writing to the Bishop, or Ordinary, the whole ground of accusation; whether it rest on public rumour, on the evidence of the informers, or on their suspicion. Whoever shall refuse to come to him, when summoned by the apparitor, shall be adjudged contumacious. He shall take care that the will of the Bishop, signified to him by letter, shall be expounded, with all possible expedition, to the churches of his Deanery; otherwise he shall undergo the punishment of contempt. On every sixth month of his office he shall certify to the Bishop, or Ordinary, how many sermons have been preached, in his Deanery, in the course of that time.”* This is a sweeping commission! But it is devoutly to be wished that the scheme had been carried into effect. It might have done something towards preserving the discipline of the Church from that pitiable imbecillity into which it has, ever since, been sinking; and have kept the parochial clergy, throughout the realm, under that perpetual and salutary consciousness of supervision and controul, which, in our present state of moral imperfection, is a valuable auxiliary to the keenest sense of duty. The project, however, was unfortunately rendered abortive; first, by the premature death of Edward VI., which intercepted the sanction of the Legislature from the whole Reformed Code of Ecclesiastical Law; and, afterwards, partly by the growing aversion for all spiritual discipline, and partly by the dragon-like jealousy of Elizabeth, who dreaded all possible invasion of her prerogative and supremacy.

In the following reigns, the hope of reviving this ancient office became continually fainter. It found but little grace in the eyes of James. The Puritan Divines were intensely solicitous and importunate, that clerical conventions should be held, every third week, in the Rural Deaneries, for the exercise of *prophesying*. And thus, the whole affair became associated, in the Royal mind, with images of fanatical and seditious disputation. The Rural Chapter, he apprehended, would, eventually, be little better than a sort of Presbyterian Kirk-session;—a thing, he said, “which agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my Council. Therefore I re-iterate my former speech, *Le Roy s’avisera*. Stay, I pray, for one seven years, before you demand that! And then, if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may, perchance, hearken to you; for that government (the Presbyterian) will keep me in breath, and give me work enough.”†

* Reform. Leg. Eccl. c. v. p. 95.

† Conference at Hampton Court.

And, accordingly, says Harrington, (who was present at a part of the conference at Hampton Court,) away went Moderators, or Rural Deans, and district conventions of the Clergy! Nothing whatever was attempted for their restoration, during the disastrous reign of Charles I. But, in 1660, the Rural Arch-priesthood appears to have occupied a place in the thoughts of those who were engaged in the re-construction of our Church Polity. In the royal declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, there is a clause which relates expressly to the *decanal* office of the *country*, to the nomination of the *Dean* by the Diocesan, and to, the nature of his duties. By that clause it is provided, that the Rural Dean, together with three or four ministers of his deanery, chosen by the major part of the ministers within it, shall meet, once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; to compose differences referred to them, by way of arbitration; to convince and reform offenders, by pastoral reproof and admonition; or, if that should be impossible, to present them to the Bishop. At these meetings other ministers of the deanery might be present, and assist. Moreover, the Rural Dean, and his assistants, were to see that the children and youths received proper religious instruction from the ministers of their parishes, and were, in all respects, duly prepared for confirmation, and the reception of the sacrament.

No further documents, relative to this subject, are to be found until the year 1710. In that year, sundry matters were referred, by the Queen, to the Convocation, to be debated and agreed on; and among them was "the establishing Rural Deans, *where they were not*, and rendering them more useful, *where they were*." From this language, we may collect, that the office still survived in many parts of the country, though in a languid and ineffective condition. It might reasonably have been expected, that the sanction of the Crown would have given an effectual impulse to the deliberations of the synod, and brought them to a prosperous issue. Unhappily, however, the whole design ended in fruitless discussion. The spirit of jealousy and discord took possession of the assembly, and disabled the two Houses from coming to any agreement with each other: and thus a precious opportunity was lost of infusing fresh life and vigour into the decaying discipline of the Church.

From that time to the present hour, there has been no authoritative movement on the part of the State,—or of the Church *collectively*,—for the repair of this department of our ecclesiastical organization. The Convocation, as every body knows, fell into a deep and deadly slumber; from which it awakens at stated periods,

shows some feeble signs of animation,—and then, sleeps again! Nevertheless, the Rural Archpresbyterate is not, even now, entirely extinct. All its contentious jurisdiction, however, is gone, probably never to return. No effort for the revival of that jurisdiction was made by the royal declaration of 1660; or by the reference to the Convocation in 1710. So that, when we recollect the original honours of the Archpresbyterate, and compare them with its present decline, we must consider it as little more than “the shadow of a mighty name.” Like Lucan’s oak, *Trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram*.

And yet, who can tell but that the day may come, when,—(provided the Church itself should be spared, in the midst of the sweeping changes which menace all institutions which have the infamy of being old,)—this function may, again, be called into general and vigorous action, and resume at least some considerable portion of its ancient dignity and power? And, if that day should come, most certainly the present author will be entitled to an ample share in the credit of the revival. In 1825, he accepted the appointment to the Rural Deanship of Chalke, in the diocese of Salisbury. His first care was to make himself acquainted with the history and constitution of the office. His researches were rewarded by the accidental discovery of an autograph sheet containing an address to the Clergy of the *Decanate* of Chalke, by John Priaulx, D.D. on the occasion of his appointment to the charge of Dean Rural, by Bishop Seth Ward, A.D. 1667. This little treatise was published by Mr. Dansey in 1832, with a body of notes by himself; accompanied by a pledge “that Dr. Priaulx’s “little Breviary should be followed by a more copious and formal “treatise by himself.” This pledge he has nobly redeemed in the volumes now before us; which (we repeat) supply all needful information, whether to the lovers of Church antiquities, or to those who may be desirous of helping to quicken the *circulation* of our ecclesiastical discipline.

Bishop Seth Ward was succeeded, in 1688, by Bishop Burnet. The zeal of Burnet for a re-animation of Church discipline, is well known. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that he should have suffered this office to expire, after the pains which had been taken by his immediate predecessor, for its restoration. Yet, such appears to have been the case. From the time of Burnet to that of Bishop Fisher, there are no traces of its existence in the diocese of Salisbury. Bishop Barrington, and Bishop Douglas, indeed, appear to have been sufficiently well disposed to revive it, but it seems that they were withheld by some unaccountable doubts, as to their legal authority to make any such appointment; doubts which could never have arisen if a work, like that of Mr.

Dansey, had been, then, before the public. The Rural Deanship was, once more, brought into action by Bishop Fisher, who occupied the see of Salisbury from 1807 to 1825; and has been continued by the present diocesan, Bishop Burgess. His lordship has laboured, ever since his translation, to render the office more effective, “by enjoining annual, or more frequent, inspection of churches and chapels, with their ornaments and furniture, church-yards, manses, &c.; by circulating, periodically, visitation articles of inquiry, to be formally filled up by them, and deposited in the archives of the see; by distributing *mandates*, and prosecuting inquisitions, where necessary, by the instrumentality of *Deans Rural*; and, lastly, by holding a yearly conference of all the *Deans* of the three archdeaconries of the diocese, at the episcopal palace; reviving, therein, the image of those elder conventions, at which the *Deans Rural*, as the proper delegates and standing representatives of the parochial Clergy, were, heretofore, wont to deliver their *acta visitationis* to their diocesan, and to report, and consult with him, on the spiritual condition of their respective *Decanates*,—‘*ut quæ ex ipsorum judicio, reformatione opus habere comperientur, communi consilio emendentur.*’—(*Dansey*, vol. ii. p. 466.)

It is satisfactory to find that this element of strength is by no means confined to the diocese of Salisbury. From the documents in the Appendix, we learn that the custom of appointing Rural Deans is now extended to the dioceses of Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield and Coventry, Lincoln, Llandaff, Norwich, Oxford, Peterborough, Rochester, St. Asaph, Worcester, and Sodor and Man. In Ireland, they were revived by the exemplary Bishop Bedel, in the diocese of Kilmore; in that of Ossory, by Bishop O’Beirne, about the year 1795; and in that of Armagh they exist at this day, in a very efficient state, under the Primate, Lord J. G. Beresford. They are, likewise, to be found in Cashel, Limerick, and Clonfert. The nature of their duties is well described by the late Bishop of Limerick (ὁ μακαρίτης), in the following extract from the speech delivered by him in the House of Lords, on the Church of Ireland. It requires some little self-controul to peruse it without feelings of indignation and scorn, at the shameless calumny and falsehood which his lordship found it necessary to expose: “There is another class of dignitaries,” said his lordship, “respecting whom a word must be said, I mean the *Rural Deans*. Of this body we have heard much. They have been repeatedly brought forward, as contriving to swell the pomp and dignity of the episcopal retinue; as drawing large revenues from the oppressed population; as con-

“ *stituting one great division of the enormous staff of the Church.*
 “ Now, what, in reality, are these portentous Rural Deans? My
 “ Lords, they are simply six or eight of the parochial Clergy in
 “ each diocese, selected on account of their good character, or
 “ appointed in rotation, to discharge the laborious, invidious, and
 “ *unpaid* duty, of visiting, and reporting upon, every parish, in
 “ their respective dioceses. Every year, previously to the Bishop’s
 “ visitation, and at as many other times as the Bishop may re-
 “ quire, they inspect the glebes and glebe-houses, the church-
 “ yards and churches, the vestments, the books, the communion-
 “ plate and linen, and all things requisite for the decent celebra-
 “ tion of divine service. On all these particulars they make a
 “ special report; as, also, on the condition and regularity of the
 “ parish registers; on the residence and attendance at church of
 “ the officiating Clergy; on the number of communicants, whe-
 “ ther monthly, or at the great festivals; on the time set apart for
 “ the catechetical examination of young persons; and the numbers
 “ actually catechized in the Church. Such, my Lords, are our
 “ Irish Rural Deans; and such are the duties they have to per-
 “ form. *And it appears that these idle and useless staff-officers,*
 “ *in addition to their other duties, undertake this charge, (which*
 “ *implies much labour, much travelling, and sometimes no trivial*
 “ *expense,) without any other recompence whatever, than the con-*
 “ *sciousness of being usefully employed!*”

And even so it is in England. The office, by its very nature, must, in some respects, be an invidious and laborious one; and, in all cases, instead of bringing in emolument, it entails expense. It would, indeed, be still more invidious and laborious than it actually is, if it were to be executed according to the plenitude of the commission which imposes it; for that commission always demands a report, touching all matters whatever *respecting which it is proper that the Diocesan should be informed.* And there are few things respecting which it is more fit and proper that the Diocesan should have distinct information, than the life and conversation of his Clergy. In spite, however, of the largeness of the words, the Rural Dean is, in practice, spared the distressing task of even standing forward as an informer against his brethren; a task which formed a regular department of his responsibilities in by-gone days. Whether it might be expedient to restore to him this extremely unenviable privilege, is a very questionable matter. In the first place, it is very doubtful whether, in these days of refined and sensitive honour, any person who had received the education of a gentleman, could be prevailed upon to accept the office of Rural Dean, if it involved the occasional necessity of denouncing a brother Clergyman before

his Diocesan. Our modern notions and habits must always be in violent insurrection against the discharge of so ungracious a duty. And, secondly, if, in any instance, the power of public spirit should be sufficient to overcome this aversion, it is greatly to be feared, that the exercise of this function might, on the whole, be attended with more evil than good. It might become a source of dissension and ill-will, which, in the end, would inflict more serious mischief upon our parochial communities than could be compensated by a restoration of the semblance of symmetry and completeness to our scheme of Ecclesiastical administration. In some instances, it is well known, even the inspection of parsonage-houses by the Archpresbyter, has occasioned no inconsiderable degree of irritation and impatience. It has been resented as an invasion of personal and domestic privacy! And if these effects have been produced by an official examination of brick and mortar, and lath and plaster, what, it may be reasonably asked, would be the probable consequences of an investigation into personal character and habits? If the survey of decaying and dilapidated walls be ever regarded as an insult, what would be the exasperation excited by the exposure of a sinking and ruinous reputation? It may, indeed, be alleged, that, if the Clergy are unable to endure the thought of being *reported* to the Bishop by one of their own brethren, how shall any one of them bear the ignominy of being *reported* by the churchwardens of the parish—(the only *testes Synodales* now practically known to the law);—the churchwardens, who, however personally respectable they may be, may, nevertheless, chance to be elected from among the small tallow-chandlers or grocers of the place! To this the answer is, that, in the present condition of society, the inquisitorial function of churchwardens, with respect to the moral conduct, or spiritual efficiency, of Incumbents or of Curates, is, for the most part, little better than a nullity! It is fallen into almost utter desuetude: into such desuetude, that we ourselves are acquainted with an instance, in which a parochial Clergyman, (not otherwise ignorant or ill-informed), *recalcitrated*, in high disdain, against the insolence of the churchwardens, for presuming to make a representation to the Bishop, to the disadvantage of his good name for decorum, and virtue, and morality! It was intolerable—he thought—that a minister of the Church of England should be degraded by an accusation, emanating from such a quarter! All this, to be sure, manifested deplorable ignorance of our Ecclesiastical Constitution. But all this, likewise, tended to prove, that one of the most important duties of churchwardens had nearly fallen into oblivion. Now, if it were possible that the *Rural Dean* could

be fully re-invested with his ancient censorial character, the negligent or delinquent minister would, at least, be left without the miserable pretence of revolting against authority and supervision, on the ground of its being exercised by a person of an inferior grade. The whole process might, indeed, still be painful enough to both parties. But, nevertheless, the culpable or suspected minister could never be in a condition to complain that he was debased, in the eyes of the world, by the meanness of his accuser. After all, however, this is, perhaps, but empty speculation. We are in a state of society altogether different from that in which the discipline of our Church grew up. Whether for good or evil, we live under a new dynasty,—the dynasty of public opinion. And this is a power which, by the invention of printing, has become endowed with a pervading and almost omnipresent influence. Like other mighty potentates, it is often monstrously capricious; and, like them, too, it rules chiefly by the instrumentality of fear. *Oderint dum metuant*, is too frequently its maxim. Its operation, nevertheless, is sometimes salutary. Where higher motives are wanting, it may chance to do, after a manner, the work which *ought* always to be done by conscience; and which, in former days, was imperfectly done by Rural Deans, or Churchwardens! This is our consolation for the decay of the authority, or the vigilance, or the sturdiness, of these Ecclesiastical functionaries. We are most happy to add, that even this consolation is less needed at the present day than ever it was before: for we verily believe that a conscientious sense of duty, a holy feeling of responsibility, is more generally prevalent among our Clergy, than at any period that can be named, since the earliest and purest ages of the Church. And, if so, the cares of Rural Deans may, *for the present*, safely be limited, (as, in practice, they *principally* are,) to the inspection of walls, and rafters, and chalices and flagons, and other visible and tangible matters; without, however, losing sight of any possible extension of their power and responsibility, which, from time to time, the wisdom of our spiritual rulers may judge to be expedient.

There is one portion of the ancient authority of the Rural Dean which might unquestionably be restored to him, with signal benefit both to the parishes and incumbents. In former times, the custody of vacant churches within his deanery, belonged to him. But “the Canon Lawyers,” says Bishop Kennett, “soon deprived him of this, as well as all other parts of “jurisdiction. For the Chancellors of the Bishop, or the Archdeacons, laid claim to the custody of vacant Churches; and, “by forms of sequestration, assigned them over to the *Æconomi*,

“or lay-guardians of the Church.” But who can doubt, for an instant, that the Rural Dean of the district, aided perhaps by some neighbouring Incumbent would, on all such occasions, be an incomparably fitter *trustee*, than the churchwardens? The sequestrator has not only to receive the profits of the sequestered benefice, but also to apply them, so far as needful, to the purpose of providing for the cure, during the continuance of the vacancy. Now, without any disrespect to that class of functionaries, we may venture to suggest that it is far from impossible, that a churchwarden should be ignorant, or obstinate, or neglectful, or unfaithful, or too deeply involved in secular affairs to pay much attention to ecclesiastical matters. But there is, comparatively, a very slender chance that a Clergyman, selected by the Bishop for the excellence of his character, should labour under any one of these disqualifications. -Whether it is competent to the Bishop to effect this most desirable transfer of duties, without the authority of Parliament or Convocation, we are unable to pronounce. The change, however, was actually contemplated by the Convocation of 1810; but the proposal came to nothing!

Before we quit this subject of Rural Deanships, we cannot resist the impulse to bestow a passing notice on one department of it, to which Mr. Dansey has, very properly, invited the attention of the reader. The modern instructions to Rural Deans,—he remarks,—should always include the fencing and due keeping of church-yards. In many dioceses, he regrets to observe, the cemeteries of the dead do not receive the respectful attention they are entitled to from the living. In country villages, the κοιμητήριον, where “the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep,” is often trampled beneath the hoof of the incumbent’s cattle, or the cattle of his tenant: and this, without any care to prevent, or to repair, the unseemly defacement occasioned by the enjoyment of the surface-pasturage. Now, this is most revolting and abominable! “The Rural Dean,” says Mr. Dansey, “who visits authoritatively, in order ‘to reform what is amiss,’ should not forget that a cemetery is holy ground, a place of religion, ‘a field of God sown with the seeds of the Resurrection;’ and, consequently, that it ought not to be desecrated to the profane uses of ordinary pasture-land. On the contrary, he should point out to the Clergy, or others whom it may concern, in the strong language of Archbishop Secker, ‘the duty of keeping the church-yards neat and decent; not turning in cattle to defile them and trample down the grave-stones, and make consecrated ground such as they would not suffer the courts before their own doors to be: but taking the profits of the herbage in such a manner, as may rather add beauty to the

“place.” In truth, a burying-ground ought never to call up any other images than those of sanctity and repose. It should never show like a mere loathsome receptacle of the ruins of mortality; a place to remind us *only* of dust, and ashes, and mouldering dissolution. It should rather speak to us of the things which lie beyond “the grave and gate of death,”—of *the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away*. And this it can never do, so long as it assails the eye, and afflicts the imagination, with spectacles of sordid, brutal, and slovenly neglect. Even the nations who know nothing of *the incorruptible inheritance*, may often teach us Christians a lesson, which well may cause us to blush. The followers of Mahomet, more especially, are, in this respect, qualified to be our instructors and our monitors; for, with them, a cemetery is generally a place whereon the eye can rest with delight, and in which the heart may be visited with serene and peaceful influences. Their cemeteries, for the most part, are spacious; and, within their boundaries, taste combines with religion to testify an affectionate remembrance of the departed. But in England, on the contrary, church-yards may still be seen which speak of little but foul and comfortless desolation. In our great towns, and cities, more especially, they are too often a disgrace to civilized communities. They are crowded receptacles of *all manner of uncleanness*; we might almost add, of pestilence! We can never think of them without feeling utterly ashamed of the complacency with which we are eternally trumpeting forth our own superiority in refinement, and our advancement in all the arts, and all the sentiments, which can exalt and dignify humanity! In saying this, however, we, probably, are speaking in vain. We live in the days of steam-engines, and rail-roads; of every thing, in short, which is, of the earth, earthy; of every thing which tends to banish the recollection of man’s higher destinies. What is to be got, by making our cemeteries a school for the cultivation of humanizing emotions? What return is to be expected from the capital laid out in enlarging the space for the reception of lifeless carcases? Why should the ruins of the human mechanism be treated with more costly respect than the remains of a worn-out and superannuated spinning-jenny? And thus it is that the triumph of *philosophy*, and the glories of civilization, (unhallowed, as they often are, by the spirit of the Gospel,) tempts us, almost, to wish for the dominion of some amiable and imaginative superstition, which, at least, would recognize man as a being whose very *exuviae* are sacred things, and would rebuke the gross and grovelling *materialism* of this arithmetical and commercial age. Sumptuous funereal pomp is, doubtless, ridiculous enough:

but, still, there is something generous, and soothing, in the folly; and, with all its absurdity, it is respectable, and even laudable, when compared with the coarseness and the barbarism which so often converts our church-yards into scenes fit only to be haunted by Ghouls and Afrits, and all unclean and hateful things. Christianity, indeed, would reconcile these matters, and bring them to their due level of propriety, if it did but warmly pervade the whole body of the communities which profess it. For, then, the depositories of the dead would always be connected, in our thoughts, with the solemnities of that day, when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality. And this recollection would, alone, be sufficient to protect them from irreverence, and neglect, and odious defilement.

Our imaginations are positively infected by this theme. Let us endeavour to sweeten them with an "ounce of civet," taken from the store of an approved and cunning artist.

"Let Vanity adorn the marble tomb
With trophies, rhymes, and scutcheons of renown,
In the deep dungeon of some Gothic donee,
Where night and desolation ever frown.
Mine be the breezy hill that skirts the down,
Where a green grassy turf is all I crave,
With here and there a violet bestrown,
Fast by a brook, or fountain's murmuring wave;
And many an evening sun shine sweetly on my grave."*

There is nothing, to be sure, very technical or didactic in these lines. Nevertheless, we wish that every *Rural Dean* would get them by heart: for, if he did, we are quite sure that the very spirit of them would make him unable to endure the sight of dilapidated church-yard fences, and graves trodden down nearly into mire, and cemeteries overgrown with weeds, and nettles, and "things rank and gross in nature."

Before we lay aside the *Horæ Decanicæ*, we are desirous of calling the attention of the clergy to that section of it (in vol. ii. p. 109, &c.), which contains some valuable and interesting suggestions for the revival of Rural Chapters. We hear perpetual complaints that there is a grievous want of intercourse among the clergy; and that this defect of communication between them is unspeakably injurious to their efficacy and influence. With a view to remedy this evil, Church-union societies have been established in a few of the English dioceses. And if such societies were formed in every diocese throughout the kingdom, their tendency would be highly beneficial to the Church,—provided, of

* Beattie's *Minstrel*, book ii. stanza xvii.

course, that they were all under the superintendence and sanction of their respective bishops. But, as Mr. Dansey remarks, these unions have hitherto been merely diocesan associations. There are no similar affiliated institutions in connection with the maternal Establishment. Now here, it may reasonably be contended, the ancient mechanism of the Church might be most advantageously employed. It might be impossible, and by no means desirable if it were possible, that the Rural Chapter should be revived in all its original authority and power. Its *contentious* jurisdiction, we have already seen, has long been utterly lost; and few things, perhaps, would be more injudicious than any attempt to restore it. But it would be difficult to perceive any objection to the scheme of re-animating the Rural Chapter, under the form of a *Decanal* Union or Society, and with a view to the accomplishment of various purposes, strictly in accordance with those objects which fell within the *voluntary* jurisdiction of the original tribunal. The formation of such unions would be in perfect harmony with our ecclesiastical polity. The Rural Chapter itself, we are told by Linwood, was the creature of custom rather than of law. And, if so, what is there to stay the bishop, if it should seem expedient to him to awaken the custom from its protracted slumber? If there be no positive law for the organization of Rural Chapters or Associations, neither is there any law against it. "They have never been put down by the legislature. They have simply fallen into disuse and decay. They have become antiquated and obsolete, to the great loss and detriment of the Church, merely because their subsidiary importance to church polity has not been duly appreciated by the clergy. They may, therefore, at any time be revived, with the sanction of the hierarchy. Nay, any zealous diocesan may restore them, and, with the aid of their machinery, work out his schemes of general or local improvement, in the distant departments of his diocese, with as much facility and efficacy as if those departments were under his own personal cognizance. Whenever, and wherever, he needs a correspondence with the rural clergy, he may avail himself of the instrumentality of rural deans and chapters, for making known his wishes and executing his mandates. And from the same source he may derive a perfect knowledge of the state of the parochial clergy, and of other matters of ecclesiastical interest in the Rural Deaneries."—(*Horæ Decan.* vol. ii. pp. 112, 113.) "Let us, then, earnestly hope that local ordinaries, aided by local chapters, may be generally instituted through the dioceses of Great Britain and Ireland. In some, Deans Rural are altogether wanting; and, where existing, they need more of a formal and legitimate esta-

“blishment, amplified powers, and acknowledged authority. In all, the Spiritual Ruler of the Deanry is unassisted by his primitive and useful adjunct, the Rural Chapter; so well fitted to keep up order and uniformity, to cultivate a good correspondence among the neighbouring clergy, to arm them against common dangers and difficulties, and to enable them in every way to promote the interest of religion and virtue, and the good of souls committed to their charge.”—p. 189.

Here we must take leave of Mr. Dansey, which we do with the deepest thankfulness for his labours. Our brief account of his work, we trust, will have no other effect than that of stimulating the curiosity of our readers, and impelling them to become possessors of the book itself. We must now take flight from the *Country* to the *Town*, from the comparatively peaceful province of the *Rural Dean*, to scenes in which the powers of evil seem to be in such high revelry, as to mock, with a sort of fiend-like glee, at the puny battle which the powers of the world to come have hitherto been able to wage against them. No thoughtful man can sit down to an examination of this fearful spectacle, without feeling as if he were about to plunge into a fiery crater, deeply charged with elements of destruction, and threatening desolation and ruin to all our social institutions. The pamphlet of Mr. Noel exhibits to us a tremendous apocalypse of the interior of this mighty caldron; and it is scarcely possible to look upon it, without astonishment at the delay of the eruption! And, can it be delayed much longer? Is it, or is it not, even now, too late for mortal zeal and energy to pacify the monster, and to avert the explosion? This is the question to be considered: and it is a question which seems enormously to overtask all merely human sagacity and wisdom. The difficulties it presents are so gigantic, so perfectly *Titanian*, that it would be the maddest of all impiety to think of grappling with them in any other strength than that of God himself!

Previously, however, to any further notice of Mr. Noel's exposition of the evil, and proposal of remedies, we shall advert, for a moment, to the spiritual condition of the metropolis upwards of one hundred years ago. We have before us a little volume, entitled “*Pietas Londinensis*, or the present Ecclesiastical State of London; containing an Account of all the Churches and Chapels of Ease in and about the Cities of London and Westminster; of the set times of their Public Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, both ordinary and extraordinary; with the Names of the present Dignitaries, Ministers, and Lecturers thereunto belonging. By James Paterson, A. M. 1714.” The object of this publication was, “to show the beautiful and excellent

“order of our churches;” by virtue of which, the author tells us, “there is scarcely an hour of the day but a devout person may have the opportunity of serving God in public, after the manner of the primitive Church.” And, he adds, “it is heartily wished that we had as much of the fervor of their spirits as we have opportunities of testifying it. And, in many of these, it is four times a day.” According to the report of this writer, there were, at that time, in the metropolis, “sixty-four stately parish churches, and one cathedral, besides the thirty-five parishes of the demolished churches, and divers chapels within its walls; in the suburbs, sixteen; in Westminster, seven, besides the Abbey; in the parishes of Middlesex and Surry, fifteen; and, as if all these had been too few, the last session of parliament, out of their godly respect to religion, thought it necessary to order fifty new churches to be erected about it,” (of which, however, but a small portion were ever built,) “which is twice as many as are in any city of Europe, and is not paralleled in any city of the world beside itself; yea, little inferior to a whole kingdom.” The account of these places of worship is alphabetically arranged, and contains a special notice of the hours of prayer, sacrament, and sermon, at each of them respectively.

Now the first thing which strikes us, on this survey, is the provision for frequency of public prayer. For instance—St. Andrew’s, Holborn,—morning prayers every day, at six in the summer and seven in the winter; again at eleven; and evening prayers at three *constantly*; sacrament every Sunday.—St. Andrew Under-shaft, *vulgo* St. Mary Axe,—morning prayers every day, at six in the summer and seven in the winter, kept up by the gift of Sir Thomas Rich, who left £400 for that end; on all holy days at eleven; and evening prayers at six, except Sundays, for which Madame Acton gave the annuity of £200 for ninety-nine years.—St. Anne, Soho,—prayers at six, or seven, in the morning; again at eleven; and at four and six in the evening.—St. James’s, Westminster,—prayers, in like manner, four times a day; sacrament every second Sunday. In some places the prayers were but twice every day. In others, only on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days. Catechizing, also, was much more regularly kept up than it is now. It would be needless to load our pages with more extracts. The whole volume shows what, in those days, was held to be, if we may so speak, the *theory* of the Church, relative to our reasonable and acceptable service to Almighty God. Sermons and lectures, indeed, were by no means forgotten. At one church (St. John’s, Walbrook) there was an endowed lecture for every day in the week. But it is evident that, after all, prayer, whether with sermon, or without, was considered as the life and

soul of all public devotion. Such, we repeat, was the *theory*. But, alas! it appears that, even then, the theory was rapidly losing its predominance. The author complains, in his postscript, that the order of things described by him, was, in many instances, itself, a degeneracy from the primitive institution—a falling back from the necessary duty of daily morning and evening prayer, at least in the Temple, the first being frequently confined to twice a week, and the latter totally neglected, because of the paucity of supplicants. He further deplores the growing disinclination to the duty, which was manifestly prevailing throughout all ranks of men. The poor, it seems, were hindered by their necessities,—the men of business by the multitude of their concerns,—the rich by their perverseness and their laziness,—the careless by their apathy as to all spiritual matters; and all were, more or less, repelled by the weary length of the service, and the frequency of the hours. The Jewish Rabbins, he reminds us, have a proverb, that, were it not for *standing*, (the Jewish posture of prayer,) the world could not *stand*. Nothing, he observes, can divert the Musulman from the observance of his five daily seasons of adoration. And the heathens, after their manner, were inflexibly punctual in the worship of their false deities. All nations seemed to combine in condemnation of those listless, luke-warm Christians, who throng the coffee-house, the tavern, and the Exchange; while so scanty a remnant go up to the Temple to pray, that “the minister thinks it not worth his while to attend upon so few!” “And thus,” he adds, “the life of religion is like to vanish in this carnal and profane age!” What, then, would he say, if he were now to live again, and to put forth another exhibition of *Pietas Londinensis*? What would be his feelings on perceiving that the degeneracy from primitive institution had been widely spreading since his days,—that in most churches the *daily* sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving had almost, if not altogether, ceased,—and, lastly, that men had grown so much more fond of hearing their duties powerfully enforced, than of diligently and devoutly performing them, that the funds which had been left for the purpose of keeping up the voice of daily supplication, were now diverted from their destination, and were employed in calling forth the utterance of the preacher or the lecturer? And yet these, we believe, are the phenomena which he would have to record, if he were now among us, to pourtray the ecclesiastical state of the metropolis!

There can be but little doubt that, for this change, we are, *in part*, indebted to the reign of Puritanical *ambition*. We say *ambition*; because it is notorious that, in the days of the first James and Charles, many of the Puritan ministers and lecturers ex-

pressed a high disdain for catechizing, as a low and beggarly task, which better befitted a pedagogue, than a man potent in the Scriptures; and that they, accordingly, exalted the ordinance of preaching above every other exercise of devotion. As catechizing went down, long discourses became more general, and, it must be added, more necessary. And thus the sermon, which, originally, was but a humble adjunct, *inlaid* into the communion office, was, at last, elevated into a supremacy, which never belonged to it in those days of primitive humility, when the homilies of the Fathers of the Church frequently occupied but the modest space of five, or ten, or fifteen minutes. When prayer was once deposed from its sovereignty, it followed, in natural course, that human indolence, and worldliness, would, in the course of time, conspire to prevent the re-establishment of its dominion. The coffee-house, the tavern, the exchange, would all unite, readily enough, to complete the revolution. And then, they who had wrought out their deliverance from the daily interruption of their secular pursuits, would gladly compromise for a weekly hour or two, either of gentle drowsiness, or of theatrical excitement. And, in neighbourhoods of great population and considerable intelligence, the result would be,—just what we witness at the present day,—that the only artifice for filling large churches or chapels, even but once, or twice, in the week, is to place there a persuasive, mighty, and spirit-stirring preacher; and, further, that, if the mighty preacher be removed, a beggarly account of empty pews is the inevitable consequence!

We beg to have it distinctly understood, that we are not prompted to speak thus by any perverse inclination to disparage the effective exposition of God's Word from the pulpit. Wherever there is preaching, let the preacher put forth all his powers. We protest against nothing but the perversion, which has, gradually, elevated a supplementary department of public worship to an undue and overpowering predominance; and has helped almost to banish from among us the very thought of hallowing each day, as it passes by, with a simple and open acknowledgment of our dependence upon the Father of Spirits, for the blessings of our creation, preservation, and redemption. The author of *Pietas Londinensis* is gloriously eloquent, in setting forth the blessings lost, and the dangers incurred, by the national abandonment of daily and public supplication; an abandonment which, even in his day, was becoming general enough to indicate something like a spirit of practical apostasy. "It is thus," he exclaims,—“that the life and practice of Christianity is in danger to be lost. We provoke God's indignation and curse upon us, and all that we put our hands to; and deprive ourselves of the comfort and

“ blessing, which he has promised, and we might expect, in doing
 “ of our duty, earnestly and constantly, according to his com-
 “ mandment.—*The hand of the diligent maketh rich*, both in spi-
 “ ritual and in temporal affairs; without which, there is little
 “ hope of success, in an ordinary way. All the means of salva-
 “ tion are to be used, in obedience to God’s commandment, *with-*
 “ *out our picking and choosing*, which proceed either from laziness
 “ or superstition, both of which lead us out of the way of
 “ righteousness.”

But here, we shall probably be asked, is there, at this day, among us, any sign of Heaven’s desertion? Is there any thing to indicate that God’s indignation has been provoked, and that a curse has fallen upon us, and upon all that we have put our hand to? Would not the chronicler of *London’s piety*, if he were now living, be compelled to acknowledge, on surveying our measureless wealth, and imperial grandeur, that the Lord has never dealt with any nation as he has dealt with us? Now, if the chronicler were at this moment at our elbow, contemplating with astonishment the might wherewith the *arm of flesh* has been endowed, since the day in which he wrote, we should assuredly recommend him to look into Mr. Noel’s pamphlet, or into the documents and publications from which that pamphlet is compiled, before he ventured to form any judgment as to the safety of our condition, or our exemption from the displeasure of God. We should call his attention to the appalling calculations, there exhibited; and of which the following is the tremendous result; namely, 500,000 Sabbath breakers, *at the very least*, living in total neglect of the restraints of religion: of whom, 10,000 are enslaved to gambling; 20,000 subsisting on beggary as a trade; 30,000 eating the bread of theft and fraud; above 100,000 habitual gin-drinkers, and 23,000 of them, in the course of the year, picked up drunk in the streets; and, lastly, 100,000 given up to systematic and abandoned profligacy. And all this, within the Metropolis and its vicinity! What would the worthy and pious *Statistic* of 1714, say to the *Pietas Londinensis* of 1836, on examining this fearful computation? Would he not have reason to think that his denunciations were in a rapid course of fulfilment,—that the growth of our prosperity was but the heaping up of wrath,—and that the neglect of God’s worship was converting our very blessings into curses?

We are not, indeed, contending, that the life and practice of Christianity are in imminent danger to be lost. We have better hopes. We trust that the realm of England is still pervaded with religious principle and feeling strong enough, under God, to effect our preservation, if we are but careful to stir up the

gift that is in us. But still, we never can think closely upon the vast and horrible residuum of vice, and misery, and ungodliness, which has been deposited in the process of our civilization, and which is now lurking and fermenting beneath the brilliant surface of our prosperity, without feeling persuaded that, if the nation is to be saved, it must be as it were through the fire. We shall hardly be suspected of much indulgence for rash, irregular, or desultory enterprize, even in the cause of religion; and yet,—so terrific are the evils now before us,—that the very thought of them is almost enough to make us impatient of the ordinary march of our ecclesiastical institutions; and to wish that some mightier impulse might be given to their movements. At times, we are well nigh driven to the belief that some eccentric and impetuous course of action is positively demanded by the dreadful exigencies of the case. And, such being our own *occasional* impressions,—it was, we most certainly cannot say with approbation,—but still, without any overpowering surprise, that we found Mr. Noel calling upon the Bishop of London to venture on “a brave neglect” of ordinary principles; to burst through the trammels of established usage; to cast off all encumbering notions of the Church’s *dignity*; and, if need be, to call forth other Whitfields and Hills, from among the ministers of the Establishment; in order that the voice of God’s Wisdom may cry in the street, and in the market place, and in the field, and on the hill-side, beneath the canopy of heaven. And if such men are not to be found within the pale of the Establishment, why, then, adds Mr. Noel, “necessity has no law. Christ *must* be preached to “perishing sinners. Before this necessity, all forms, however “venerable,—all rules, however salutary—must give way. And “I venture to intreat your lordship to send forth, among the “people, *Methodist* or *Congregational* Missionaries; or any “good men, who may, by the blessing of God, be the means of “saving their souls.”

Such is the appeal of Mr. Noel to his diocesan. And if any thing *could* justify the proposal which that appeal contains, it assuredly would be, that the mischief to be encountered does seem, just now, to require something in the nature of a missionary movement; and this of a widely extended, and vigorously aggressive character. Nevertheless we cannot but feel it to be the sacred duty of all churchmen to repel and keep down the agitation and the impatience, which the prospect of imminent calamity and peril is always apt to produce: and this—in order that they may be enabled to exercise a far-sighted and comprehensive prudence, instead of rushing, blind and headlong, into an abyss of desperate experiment. No time will, eventually, be lost, no chance of per-

manent good will be thrown away, by calmly considering, whether it may not be possible, even in the very jaws of the crisis which seems to be yawning upon us, to devise some measure of hopeful promise, which yet shall not involve an utter subversion of the order and discipline of the Church, and a sweeping sacrifice of its essential principles! If, indeed, it could once be irresistibly made out, that nothing can redeem the land from the danger of general apostasy, but the employment of a miscellaneous, in subordinate, and tumultuary force, then, indeed, we might be compelled to acknowledge that the necessity of preaching Christ must overrule and trample down the ordinances and statutes of Christ's Apostolic Church. But we are extremely slow indeed to believe this. We cannot but hope that there are other methods far less hazardous and revolutionary, to which the Church of England may resort, for the purpose of averting the displeasure of God, and the ruin of our country. Dark and lowering as the skies may be, we can hardly reconcile ourselves to the thought of bringing in strange fire, to keep alive the flame upon her altar. Yea, even though her candlestick should be threatened with danger of removal, we still should shrink from hastening its extinction, by exposure to the gusts and tornados of doctrine, which then would set in upon it from every corner of the heavens.

What may be the most safe and effectual expedients for meeting the exigencies of the time, (whether the subdivision of parishes—or the licensing of spacious rooms—or the multiplication of preachers and of visitors)—we deem it advisable to abstain from inquiring. And we abstain the more willingly, because we cannot permit ourselves to doubt, that the evils which have stirred the spirit of Mr. Noel within him, are likewise viewed with the deepest anxiety, both by the rulers of the Church, and by the most devoted, intelligent, and generous of her laity. Her chariot wheels may, perchance, seem to tarry and drag heavily, as slackness is counted by men whose zeal has in it more of integrity than of discretion. But, for our parts, we are disposed to trust that the long-suffering of God will graciously allow time for the mature preparation of whatever designs may now be in hand,—provided always that they are undertaken in a spirit of godly wisdom, of ardent charity, and of faith unfeigned. In the mean time, we cannot forbear to offer a word or two of caution,—(craven and heartless caution, it may possibly be thought)—touching the two last resources which have been suggested by the zeal of Mr. Noel.

And, first,—of field-preaching,—or preaching in the open air, whether in the city, or in the forest. This, doubtless, in itself,

is a legitimate missionary proceeding. By this, among other methods, the Gospel was originally promulgated. But what can be done by field-preaching, towards the permanent establishment of multitudes in the faith of Christ, unless it be followed up by other measures of a more enduring and prospective character? What—humanly speaking—would have become of the crowds, so rapidly reclaimed from heathenism by Apostles, or by apostolic men, if their preaching had not been attended by the formation of a regular and local ministry? What would field-preaching have done for John Wesley, if his genius had not, likewise, raised up a masterly and effective system for the organization of his followers and converts? A series of itinerant and tumultuary ministrations might, probably enough, succeed in *pricking to the heart* some considerable portion of our godless myriads. But the impression which could thus be made on the general mass of national impiety and vice, would be slight and transitory; unless the same scheme of operation should be kept up, from one generation to another; or, unless it should be resorted to merely as the breaking up of the ground for a course of subsequent and regular husbandry. We are by no means prepared to affirm that it may *not* be within the competence of our spiritual rulers to confer ordination, with a view to this particular department of ministerial labour. But—even if the State should grant its assent, or withhold its opposition,—we can scarcely imagine that field-preaching would ever be allowed to enter, permanently, into our Ecclesiastical system. And, if not, the task would still remain, of providing stated and local means for the perpetual cultivation of the wastes, which might have been thus reclaimed. And—this being so—it does appear to us that the shortest and most excellent way is to proceed, at once, to the extension of the Church's local influence and efficacy, instead of trusting to desultory bursts of missionary ardour: in short, to enlarge our apparatus of general irrigation, rather than to let in an occasional torrent of enterprize, which, after all, may only pass away, like a wintry flood.

In support of our views, let our readers listen to the following suggestions of a writer, quoted by Mr. Noel himself:—

“In all our great towns there is a population growing and deepening under the influence of democratic orators and Sunday newspapers—of cheap infidel tracts, and cheaper gin—of vice and pauperism, deserted by the Establishment, and overlooked by all besides. The ten-pound franchise is thought by some to have inverted the social pyramid. But the ten-pound householders are an aristocracy compared with these tenants of cellars, and garrets, and teeming alleys. If the ten-pound householders are dangerous politicians, what sort of politicians are these?

The wealthy and the great may stop their ears, and turn away their eyes; but these myriads, with nothing to lose by tumult, and no principle to control their violence, are roaring at the gates of the Constitution through the mouths of their furious artillery—the unstamped periodicals; and are waiting impatiently to make their way over every shattered and prostrated barrier, to political power. If we are in an abyss now, we seem on the brink of something worse;

‘ And in the lowest deep, a lower deep,
Still threatening to devour us, opens wide.’

“Is the State sane, which can close its eyes to the existence of such a population, or overlook it when discovered? There it is; so degraded, so miserable, and so disloyal, that it would be a disgrace to the worst Government, and a terror to the strongest. And what are we doing for it? Cheap bread, cheap government, plenty of employment, and a gradual extension of civil privileges, as education advances, would be excellent checks and palliatives. But our debt is heavy; the supply of labour is beyond the demand; the habit of gin-drinking is inveterate; and education is very partial. Under such circumstances how can you save them from wretchedness, or make them love the Government under which they suffer it? Educate their children—very good; and when those children go from your schools to the dismal, vicious, discontented, and blaspheming society among which their parents dwell, is it likely that their school-lessons will prevail over the fearful lessons of another character, with which these scenes are daily and hourly storing their minds? The schoolmaster may be powerful; but here he is a child in the grasp of a giant. And your schools, unaided, would do about as much to allay the anti-christian and anti-social fermentation of that diseased mass, as a school-boy’s squirt would have done to put out the fire of St. Stephen’s. They must be penetrated with Christian instruction. They must be conquered, and humanized, and moralized, by Christian benevolence. They must witness Christian examples. And how is this to be done? The Independents have not done it. The Methodists have not done it. *No out-door preaching has done it.* No district-visiting has done it. Still new swarms are thrown off by the monstrous hive, threatening, not only to leave the members of the Establishment a minority of our city population, but to outnumber them and the members of all other orthodox denominations together. Let every thing be tried which ingenuity can devise, or Christian zeal attempt.”*

We have, here, the testimony of a zealous Clerical Reformer, to the effect, that *out-door preaching* has hitherto done nothing considerable towards humanizing, or Christianizing, or moralizing, the countless multitudes, who still require to be *penetrated* with the power of God, and the wisdom of God, as manifested in the Gospel. And such a testimony as this may surely “give us

* See “Fundamental Reform of the Church Establishment; by a Clergyman.” Published by J. F. Shaw, 27, Southampton Row, 1835. P. 51, &c.

pause," when we are speculating as to the expediency of departing from the immemorial order and system of the Church.

But what shall we say to Mr. Noel's proposal for a call, on the part of the Diocesan of London, upon Methodist and Congregational Missionaries? That "they would come when he did call for them," we conceive to be highly probable. But, whether the spirits from that "vasty deep" would be quite so tractable and obedient as might be desired, is a matter which may admit of reasonable question! He must be a mighty magician indeed, who should venture to summon up a battalion of such agents. We grievously suspect that they would be found, in the end, to resemble certain auxiliaries, who, in former days, were enlisted for the defence of the Roman Empire. We say not this, however, to the invidious disparagement of the forces under consideration. Nothing on earth can be more natural, than that they should regard such a call as a virtual acknowledgment of their right to legionary and prætorian honours. They must be more or less than men, if they did not treat it as a solemn proclamation of ecclesiastical liberty and equality. All this, it is true, would be quite in accordance with the spirit of the age. But there, still, are many Churchmen who are, Heaven knows how much, behind the spirit of the age! And this "lagging race of frosty grovelers" will, probably, be apt to figure to themselves all manner of awkward results from this sort of miscellaneous levy. They will, we sadly fear, be tempted to look beyond the region of fugitive advantage; and to pry into the depths of dark and ominous contingency. They will, perhaps, be haunted by fears lest the expedient here proposed, should end by altogether merging and *swamping* the Church in the slough of Dissent. And, if so, they will, not very unreasonably, be slow to counsel that the Church should hastily venture on a plunge into that yawning gulf. And we must confess, that we ourselves are weak and *obsolete* enough to be molested by similar apprehensions. We do feel strongly disposed, rather to leave to them that are *separate* from the Church, to pursue, *separately*, and in their own way, the work of evangelizing the dark and cruel places of these realms. If they feel themselves impelled to itinerant and missionary toils, they can hardly want a word of command from the Diocesan of London. It is beyond *his* power to lay an interdict on their activity. It would, therefore, be difficult to understand for what good purpose his voice should go forth to call them into action.

It may possibly be thought by some that we have wasted too many words upon projects, which have, to all appearance, been engendered by the power of a sort of hot-house temperature; and which have little of the compact texture which is the result of

unforced and natural vegetation. And this complaint might be just enough, if all among us sought to qualify themselves for speaking skilfully of every plant that grows, *from the cedar of Lebanon, to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall*. But since, unhappily, this is not the case, we have ventured to hope that even our shallow and imperfect notices might not be altogether profitless. We now conclude, for the present, with the expression of our sincere and cordial participation in the alarm and the solicitude manifested by Mr. Noel, and with the assurance of our deep conviction that he has been prompted to speak by the purest and holiest of motives. And our heart's desire and prayer unto God is, that the subject which has opened his mouth, may enter deeply into the hearts of those who, in Scripture, are called *gods*, and who, under Jehovah himself, are entrusted with the destinies of the human race. Our wish is, that the Church may be endowed with power, if we may so express it, to *inject* herself, with all her healing and life-giving virtue, into every corner of the realm. But this—except by miracle—she can never do, unless they who call themselves her's, shall supply her with the human means of putting forth her self-expansive energy. It can never be too frequently reiterated, that, in spite of the late increase of churches and of chapels, there is still a fearful and dreary chasm to be filled up. More places of worship, and, of course, more ministers to occupy them, are still urgently wanted. And how are these to be provided, but by a pious prodigality on the part of those who have the resources of this world at their command? It is vain for Mr. Noel to tell us, that, “if myriads still remain un-
“taught, the Clergy must be called upon to do their duty, by
“*providing curates to officiate in rooms*, to be licensed in every
“part of the metropolis.” This, really, seems to us to resemble the ingenious scheme of Captain Bobadil, for killing off his foes by *computation*! The incumbents of the metropolis, and of most of our great towns, are, many of them, notoriously, in a state not much above positive indigence; and it would be about as reasonable to ask them to raise, each of them, a regiment for the service of his country, as to exact the appointment, out of their own means, of a little college of evangelists, for their swarming parishes, respectively. If the Legislature refuses to come to the help of the Church, (and, in the present temper and constitution of the Legislature, who can anticipate its help?), the most opulent and devoted of the laity must be solemnly adjured to honour the Lord with their substance, and to render back to Him his own, with simplicity of eye, and singleness of heart, and openness of hand. If this appeal should be made in vain, nothing will remain for the Church, but to lift up a faithful, but calm and respectful, protest, against the lukewarmness of certain of her own children;

and to till, with unwearied industry, the harvest-field assigned to her, to the utmost extent which the numbers and the strength of her labourers may reach. And then, if other adventurers are found to undertake the culture of the out-lying wilderness, our holy mother may look,—with an aching heart, indeed,—but still with a conscience void of offence, upon the hard necessity, which compels her to abandon any portion of her territory to irregular occupation. Our prayer is, that the Lord may put it into the hearts of her more prosperous sons, to help her, in this hour of her need; and so to strengthen her, that she may be able to embrace her whole family, and to nourish them with the bread of eternal life.

ART. II.—1. *The Monarchy of the Middle Classes. France, Social, Literary, Political. Second Series.* By Henry Lytton Bulwer, Esq. M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1836.

2. *A Defence of Christianity, or Conferences on Religion; being a Translation of Défense du Christianisme, ou, Conférences sur la Religion, par M. D. Frayssinous, Eveque d'Hermopolis.* By John B. Jones. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Rivingtons. 1836.

WE scarcely know how to tread the labyrinth, “all without a plan,” as it appears to us, of Mr. Bulwer’s two mazy volumes; or in what manner to analyse the huge undigested sarrago, the *votum, timor, ira, voluptas, Gaudia, discursus*, which they present. Certain we are that no manuscript was ever dismissed to the press more completely *currente calamo*. This haste is evinced not only by the numerous misprints which are still left, but by the errata which have been collected, and by the cancels which so frequently recur. We cannot think very highly of the accuracy of that scholarship which throughout leaves *Cataline* uncorrected for *Catiline*; or which, without altering the erroneous prosody occasioned by dislocation of the real order in which the words occur, is in another place compelled to change *detrerrima* into *teterrima*, in a quotation somewhat trite and not easily to be forgotten. The printer may be answerable for substituting “half-pence” for “pence;” “a lady with three daughters” for “a lady with her youngest daughter;” and for various other minor delinquencies; but the faults which we have adverted to above are not imputable by any subterfuge to a lesser source than that of the author himself.

Our business is chiefly connected with the chapters which relate to Religion, and to these, therefore, with a short animadversion upon the others, we shall principally direct ourselves. Mr. Bulwer’s theory seems to be, that we, as well as our neighbours, are advancing at no distant date, either by a sudden political tempest, or, as he inclines to believe, “gradually, slowly, safely,”

to a Monarchy of the Middle Classes. What that means we really know not, but if it means anything like the description which he has offered of the state of France, we most devoutly exclaim, may Heaven forefend!

In the first chapter we learn that the present work is to be considered as the continuation of one published a year since, and which, having swept away French History and Drama, left the writer at liberty to commence upon lighter literature. From Madame Scuderi, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Le Sage, he passes accordingly to the imitators of Sir Walter Scott, De Vigny, Mérimée, and Victor Hugo. The first of these writers, it is well known, has chosen to exercise his pen upon the varying aspects of the Court of Louis XV. The second has framed a tale, and, as we are assured, "truly, energetically, vividly, and naturally," of "the passion, the levity, the superstition, the gallantry, the debauchery, and the bloodthirsty cruelty of that epoch, memorable by the massacre of St. Bartholomew;" and with all who delight in visiting hospitals, and in assisting at executions, he must doubtless be a favourite author. Of Victor Hugo, it may be enough to observe, in Mr. Bulwer's own words, that his heroines, for the most part, resemble "galvanised frogs." Omitting certain dirty, licentious, absurd and indecorous writers, Mr. Bulwer advances with proper reprobation to the class of extravagant Novelists. But to these insane regions of fiction it is quite unnecessary that we should follow him, because, as he assures us, they are cultivated for the sake of only very young men, and of kept mistresses—a large class, but one which we trust, even in France, is not likely to produce a Revolution in Letters.

Light literature, as it appears according to Mr. Bulwer's distribution, is by no means to be confounded with the Press Proper; by which no other is intended than the Newspaper Press. Mr. Bulwer is a strenuous advocate for the interchange of this ephemeral writing, the easy transmission of which commodity between the two nations, would, as he is convinced, generate "a communication of thought and an approximation of sympathy of opinion." He then sketches the characters of the chief newspapers circulated at Paris, with the nice discrimination of one who has been behind the scenes; but we must be permitted to add, as a commentary of our own, that we much doubt if England would be benefited by the naturalization among us of any of the venal and voluptuous men whom he mentions as Editors. Our daily press is already sufficiently corrupt; what would it be if by the removal of all restrictions, as is here ardently recommended, every doctrine were allowed to enter every house under the sanction of Government?

The next four chapters comprise the Sketch of Religion; the

first of them, consisting of four leaves and a half, presents Mr. Bulwer's own opinions, which seem to be, that in 1769 there existed less real Religion in France than there is now, in 1836. If so!—

“ But notwithstanding any isolated facts to the contrary, many of which must necessarily fall within the reach of a partial inquirer, I think the state of Christianity in France may be thus fairly described, as it exists at the present moment.

“ CHRISTIANS.

“ 1. The south and west of France almost without exception.

“ 2. The higher classes, (to use an expression familiar to the English reader,) i. e. the nobility, gentry, and the more rich bourgeoisie.

“ 3. The rural population in general.

“ From this it would follow—

“ On the one hand:—

“ That the districts most distinct from France, in general, are:—*Christian*. That the classes most wealthy in France, are:—*Christian*. That that part of the population numerically the most important in France, is:—*Christian*.

“ On the other hand:—

“ That the spots in France most mixed up in French affairs, are:—*Indifferent or opposed to Christianity*. That the classes most influential in French society, are:—*Indifferent or opposed to Christianity*. That that part of the population politically (electively and municipally) the most important, is:—*Indifferent or opposed to Christianity*.

“ The national religion in France is considered to be the religion of the different influential sects in the nation; and the state pays a salary to the minister of the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish worship.”

“ The following are the Ecclesiastical Statistics of the numbers of the Catholic clergy composing the twenty-four dioceses of the kingdom, drawn from authentic documents, year 1833.

Titular	675
Honorary	446
Curates	3,241
Assistants	24,517
Vicars	6,989
Chaplains	449
Almoners	989
Priests (supernumerary) authorised to preach and confess .	439

37,745

Priests on duty, died 1833 1,114

Total, priests in active service 38,859

“ INDIFFERENT OR OPPOSED TO
CHRISTIANITY.

“ 1. The great majority of the metropolitan population.

“ 2. The men of science and letters; the army.

“ 3. The small bourgeoisie of the towns.

Number deficient for the service of dioceses.....	11,732
Number of priests judged necessary by the bishops.....	50,591
Priests employed whose age exceeds sixty years	9,755
Priests, aged or infirm, not capable of duty	1,870
	11,625

ORDINATION DURING THE YEAR 1833.

Priests	2,059
Deacons	1,721
Under-deacons	1,681
	5,461

ECCLESIASTICAL SCHOLARS.

Theology	7,417
Philosophy	2,162
In the secondary ecclesiastical schools	13,826
	23,405."

A MS. translation of the insane follies of the Abbé de la Mennais, undertaken by an Englishman of more ardour than discretion, resident in Paris, met our eyes within a few weeks after the appearance of the original. The execution was spirited and faithful—but let it be remembered, to the honour of English booksellers, that although it was said that more than 6000 copies of *Les Paroles d'un Croyant* had been sold in Paris in a single week, no respectable Publisher for his unholy parodies could be found in London. Mr. Bulwer (as far as we understand) appears to have formed a correct judgment of their Political and Religious tendency; of their merits as a composition he thinks far more highly than we do.

“ ‘I was sitting one day,’ said a friend of mine to me, in the bureau of the *Avenir*, (a religious journal,) ‘waiting for one of the editors of that paper, when a little man came in and sat himself shivering down before the small fire, from which I was endeavouring, in no very happy mood, to extract some kind of consolation. Small, plain, and ill-dressed, with large green spectacles, and an immense nose, timid, awkward, there was nothing at first sight very interesting either in the manner or the appearance of my acquaintance. I spoke, however; he spoke, and in speaking his air became more firm and decided—his features assumed a new cast—his eye lit up—thought, suffering, compressed passion, were visible in his countenance—and his whole person swelled out as it were, into more spiritual and imposing proportions. ‘Monsieur l’Abbé!’ said my friend, entering just at the moment that

my eye was fixed on a print opposite. The print was that of the Abbé de la Mennais,—the person I had been talking to was the Abbé de la Mennais himself.’

“At St. Malo, in Brittany, in 1782, of a family in the middle classes in life, (merchants fitting out ships,) was born Félicité Robert de la Mennais. His early years were spent in the house of an uncle, who lived a retired country life, in the midst of a large library, to which the young student had frequent recourse. Every style of composition, poetry, prose, plays, history, religious tracts, were all, at this time, devoured with an equal literary avidity.

“At the age of the passions, however, books were laid aside; and for some years the follies of an ardent temperament preceded the pieties of repentance.

“At last this eloquent man appeared—the priest of the restoration; supposed by some a proselyte from divine grace, by others a hypocrite from worldly ambition, but acknowledged by all to possess singular ability.

“If I have paused thus long on the portrait of M. de la Mennais, it is not because this person was the former champion of the pope, but because, within a few months from the period at which I am writing, he has endeavoured to give Christianity new doctrines, to breathe into Catholicism a new spirit, to fashion it, according to the ideas of his epoch, into a new form, to raise up a democratic religion, full of energy, and life, and passion, in face of the spectral majesty of mitred Rome.”—

One chapter, the seventh, is devoted to Protestantism as it now exists in France—a subject upon which we have anxiously sought, but without effect, to obtain authentic and official information, and which we abstract, therefore, from Mr. Bulwer, (who gives Mr. Cockerell as his main authority,) without either impugning or vouching for the correctness of his statements. He probably deserves quite as much confidence as is to be accorded to Soulier, the only professed writer on the subject with whom we are acquainted.

Calvinists, who, however, profess few of the doctrines of Calvin, are scattered throughout France. Lutherans, who are much in the same condition as to profession, are chiefly fixed in Alsace. Not more than ten Priests would be found at present willing to sign the Confession of Faith of the old French Reformed Church. This is a matter of great regret; for, *exceptis excipiendis*, the old Confession is a composition eminent both for morality and for piety. But the Eirenaic system is prevalent; all differences of opinion are carefully merged in the common title “Evangelic;” and the pulpits are indiscriminately *supplied* by Preachers, however non-descript in persuasion, clean and unclean, from all the four winds of Heaven, “no promise or profession as to his dogmas being exacted from the Minister on Ordination.” We believe that the numbers of the Protestant population are furnished only by guess; the official computation is a million; Mr. Bulwer sup-

poses the real number to be more, and that it is increasing. The stipend paid to the Minister by the State, and beyond which he has no legal demand for any act of duty, is regulated by the numbers of his congregation, and it varies from 1200 to 2000 francs. At Paris 3000 francs are given. In the rural districts a residence is for the most part provided by the Commune. In the great towns, the department, or the town itself, votes an allowance, which is insufficient for its purpose, and is made up (the complement, as it will be perceived, being a full moiety) by the assistance of the State. No retiring pension is allotted for sickness or old age, but the "suffragant," whom a disabled and *emeritus* Minister is allowed to employ for the performance of his duties, is paid generally by himself, occasionally by the Consistory, and sometimes, though not frequently, by the State. At Bourdeaux exists a Society of mutual insurance for the support of the widows and orphans of Protestant Clergymen.

The greater number of congregations assemble in the open air or in some barn; and this may account, without any further inquiry, for an occurrence which has extorted sufficient admiration from Mr. Bulwer to occasion the use of italics, that "*no where are the seats let*, every place is open to the first occupant." Wherever Churches *are* to be found, however, they are furnished in the outset by the Government, by the towns, or by the religious communities themselves, assisted by a certain allowance. They are sometimes hired, sometimes lent. Repairs are defrayed by the State; but the service is maintained by accidental funds arising from legacies or from subscriptions. Occasionally a Roman Catholic Church, "no longer useful to its original possessors," is granted for the purpose of Protestant worship. L'Oratoire at Paris is one of these, and Mr. Bulwer assures us that "the sacrifice was a great one, for the Government had used this church as a place of deposit for the decorations of the opera."

General organization appears to be entirely wanting; but the Calvinist Church is nominally divided into consistorial and sectional. The former assemblies possess a place of resort (*un chef-lieu*), at which the elders, together with the pastors, of whom the most aged is always president, form a consistory. The pastors, however, live so far apart from each other in most rural districts, that a consistory is seldom formed, and in that case no paramount authority of any kind exists either for appeal or for the repression of abuse. The General Synod of the ancient French Reformed Church has not been revived; and even the Provincial Synods composed of deputies from a certain number of consistories, which are authorized by law, have never yet been assembled.

The Clergy are nominated by the Consistories and confirmed by the King. The Calvinistic Liturgy is that of Geneva, with a

few additional prayers. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is celebrated four times a year; at Christmas, at Easter, at Whitsuntide, and on the last Sunday in September or on the first in October. It is seldom administered at home to the sick or dying. Every member of the congregation assists at it in the rural districts, but in great towns the attendance is very rare; nevertheless 2500 persons partook of it in Paris at last Easter, (1835). Baptism is performed at all hours, but invariably in the church, unless in cases of very serious illness. Roman Catholics are admitted as sponsors. In marriages between a Protestant and a Catholic, it is almost always stipulated that the children are to follow the religion of the mother. Great attention is paid to the poor by a body subordinate to the Consistory, composed of Deacons, (*Diaconat*, we suppose *Diaconat*,) which in Paris consists of about fifty; one-tenth being physicians. A general meeting takes place every month, and a committee every week. "The Pastors" (as Mr. Bulwer twice informs us in language which we beg leave to suggest to him is *not* English) "preside the two meetings." The poor are received and questioned; if they are well known, have immediate relief afforded them, and if they are not so, await a domiciliary visit. No exclusive provision is made for education, the Protestant Schools having been absorbed in the Communal Schools which are paid by the State. "Nor is there any religious instruction given in such schools at all affecting the tenets of the scholars." That is, as we suppose, no religious instruction at all is given.

The Lutherans appear, perhaps on account of the smallness and concentration of their body, to be a little better organized than the Calvinists; and besides these Mr. Bulwer mentions a few Protestant Dissenters, whom he summarily dismisses as Anabaptists and Methodists. To their peculiar tenets it is not probable that he has paid much attention; and his knowledge of them may be estimated by the following brief paragraph:—"Their doctrines are those of the Athanasian Creed, containing a belief in the supremacy of faith over works, and a literal construction of divine inspiration." Two societies are supported by the Methodists:—'*La Société Evangélique*,' to spread Christianity through the world by every means placed by God at their disposition, and '*La Société Biblique*,' which sells to all persons except to members of the national Protestant Church, Bibles fifty per cent. cheaper than they can be procured elsewhere.

Upon this examination, Mr. Bulwer greatly prefers, and gives his reasons, which we need not cite, for this preference, the Protestant Church which he has found in France to that which he left behind in England.

For the state of the Roman Catholic Church we must turn to

the very spirited translation given by Mr. Jones of the Discourses preached by the Bishop of Hermopolis in defence of Christianity. That Prelate commenced his useful lectures in 1803, in the church of St. Sulpice, at Paris, to a congregation chiefly composed of young persons in the higher classes of society. They were interrupted in 1809, resumed in 1814, and terminated in 1822. A single extract from the Introductory Discourse will best evince their object and execution. After describing the fall of religion during the progress of anarchy, the eloquent Divine continues as follows:—

“ In the midst of this religious and political confusion, have many of you, my friends, been nursed. Yes, born, and partially educated in the very bosom of anarchy and disorder,—removed, during the age of passion, into the corruption of our cities, and licentiousness of our camps,—it must have been the unhappy fate of whole generations to have received but an imperfect education; and to these, the religion of their fathers must consequently be as an unknown science. But, yet, how many may there be, who, apparently without religion, and without God, are yet not systematically impious, and may only be awaiting the blazing up of the torch of truth, to walk steadily in its beams. There may, doubtless be others, whose early education has been more propitious, but whose sentiments of piety, although sedulously inculcated by virtuous parents, the gaiety of the capital may have totally obliterated; who, coming here to drink of the springs of science and of literature, at the fountain heads, have, with them, imbibed the poisonous waters of infidelity. These pernicious doctrines are found mixed up in so vast a proportion of our learned and literary works, that if our young people are not enlightened, and established in their faith by a more solid, and more extended course of religious instruction, that faith is in danger. What was its sufficient safeguard a century ago, is by no means sufficient now. He who ventures forth amidst the dangers of a vicious and corrupt world, wholly ignorant of his religion, and the universal foundations on which it rests, is as madly rash as the soldier, who, unarmed, rushes into the thickest ranks of the enemy.

“ Struck by these considerations, I have conceived the project of affording to our youth greater facilities and opportunities of fully ascertaining the true foundations of religion and morality. With this view, I have determined upon giving the following course of instruction, in which the various subjects proposed for our consideration will be discussed in such a manner, as will, I trust, bring conviction to all reasonable minds,—a conviction which will extricate them from, or secure them against, the snares of error. And why should we not institute in this city a sort of Christian academy, in which we might seek mutual enlightenment on all that is most beautiful in our nature, on all that makes man excellent, on all that makes him virtuous? In a city of antiquity, celebrated from the name of its founder, from its riches, from its commerce, its population, and its cultivation of the arts and sciences, celebrated moreover from being the scene of certain occurrences in the early ages of Christianity, for here Christians and their most dangerous

and cruel enemies, the Jews and Pagans, mixed together,—I mean, in short, Alexandria; in this city was founded a school of Christian philosophy, from whence arose the most learned and pious men of which the age could boast. Here we see the Clements of Alexandria, and the Origenes, (that Origen who, by the irreproachable purity of his morals, by the immense variety of his acquirements, and by the many charms of his talents and his genius, permanently attached to himself both Pagan people and Pagan philosophers); here we see these ornaments of their age from disciples becoming masters. Has not religion in our day enemies as subtle and as dangerous as the sophists of the Gentile world? What say I, my friends! the apologists of antiquity, happier far than they of modern times, had to combat a gross idolatry only, whereas we are opposed to men, who, carrying corruption into science itself, have habituated themselves to a fastidious refinement of thought, which is more incurable and more fatal than the most barbarous ignorance.”—*Frayssinous*, vol. i. p. 11—13.

“My friends, the lot of St. Paul will always be that of every preacher of the truth. The doctrine which he taught formerly at Athens, we, eighteen centuries after him, announce to you in this capital, which, from its tastes, its manners, and its embellishments, is accounted the Athens of modern ages. But how will it be with us? To-day, as of old, mockers will be found, who laugh at our doctrine as at an empty tale. Others there will be, who, slightly touched, but weak, and lovers of their pleasures, put off all serious reflection to a more advanced season of life, and say, ‘we will hear thee again of this matter.’ But there may be some,—we dare hope, through the mercy of God, there may be some, who will enter into the way of truth, and walk faithfully therein even unto the end. And was there, in this immense city, but one young man, whom our conferences might induce to abjure his errors at the foot of this chair, we should feel paid, abundantly, and with usury, for all our labours, and all our efforts.”—*Frayssinous*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32.

Philosophy is naturally treated by Mr. Bulwer in the next degree to Religion; and here, as we supposed, “the mighty master” is completely at home. He describes the costume in which Le Père Enfantin appeared at the bar on the 8th of April, 1833: “over his shoulders was thrown a rich velvet mantle, fringed with ermine, boots of a singular and graceful shape covered his leg as far as the knee; a beautiful cachemire twisted round his neck, fell over his breast; and his long beard was arranged with the sacred care that should preside over the toilet of an Apostle.” Upon the neck of each of his numerous followers glittered a mysterious steel collar, composed of triangular, oval or circular rings, each being some token or sign, and from their centre projected a spheric symbol representing the Father, and cabalistically inscribed *à la Mère*. St. Simon, the founder of the sect, after some success, perceived that his system was failing, “and with the energy suitable to his character,” discharged a pistol at his head, which miserably lacerated him without ter-

minating his existence. He died soon afterwards, a victim to absolute starvation; and appears to have been more of an enthusiast than of a rogue. His successors, of whom the chief were Bazard and L'Enfantin, were downright swindlers; practising on extreme youth and senility, and deceiving simple women to their own advantage:

*"Crustis ac pomis viduas tenentur avaras,
Excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant."*

The accusations against them, were—

1st. The forming an illegal association.

2d. The fraudulently attempting to mislead the public in regard to their enterprise; and thereby obtaining money under false pretences.

3d. The fraudulently obtaining a testamentary disposition.

4th. Offences against public morals arising from the tenor of the works professing to explain their doctrines.

The verdict was guilty, and the sentence accompanying it twelve months' imprisonment.

This *new Christianity*, as they dared to call it, which in truth inculcated the foulest and most unmitigated profligacy, expired during their confinement; and when the term of his punishment was ended, Le Père Enfantin embarked to teach St. Simonism in the East, the cradle of human reason.

Other philosophers have had their believers in their day; and the disciples of M. C. Fourier assert, that the sea by a natural process is turning into lemonade; and that the future generations of mankind, (contrary to the hypothesis of Lord Montboddo, who believed that civilization had worn away the original birth-sin,) were rapidly hastening to the development of tails. In order to improve the condition of society, this sage proposed a College, or *Phalangstère*, in which, during the seasons of the *four movements*, infancy, childhood, adolescence and manhood, all possible pains are to be taken to ascertain and to indulge the natural inclinations of the inmates. Of the abominations licensed in *both sexes* by this system from fifteen and a half to twenty, ("the period of the passions," the third *mouvement*,) happily for us we need not speak. Even the French themselves perceive them, and a novice, either too simple or too sagacious, naively inquired, from a Gnostic who was expounding the delights of the *Damoisellat*, (a state contradistinguished from *La Vestalat*, which is set apart for those of less ardent habits,) *où tout est l'amour,— "Mais, Monsieur —, où est la Paternité?"*

In his chapter on the division of property, Mr. Bulwer, with the natural feelings of a younger brother, impugns the rights of primogeniture. According to the French law, after a Parent's death, his property is to be equally divided among his children,

excepting, that if he pleases, he may leave one share, *une part d'enfant*, to any one child whom he prefers. "This law," says Mr. Bulwer, "produces two effects, first, to make the child independent of his father's aversion, but expectant from his father's love; secondly, to make the Parent depend for the extent of his power upon the extent of his family, and thus to provide a sufficient check against an over-abundant population. The latter of these conditions appears to us to partake somewhat of Shandyism, and need not be gravely disputed; the former is more likely to create intrigues and heart-burnings in families than peace and brotherly love. We recommend the opening three chapters of the second volume on "the social condition, on manners, and on young France," to all who are enamoured of French Society without being acquainted with its real nature. They are replete with anecdote piquantly told. The middle class is described as composed of the ruins of an old, and the elements of a new state of society; as a class into which men have fallen or risen by the caprices of the Revolution; it does not, as with us, represent the shop-keepers, who, in France, scarcely form an isolated body.

We throw together some favourable specimens of Mr. Bulwer's lighter manner, taken at random from this part of his work. "Really," said a lady near him on one occasion at a ball at the Tuileries, "one might fancy one's-self in Heaven, for there also there is no distinction of persons." Or, as another lady of great beauty described Napoleon to him: "*Oh! le petit homme il étoit charmant! dents comme des perles, toutes petites, toutes petites—des mains mignomes—il se parfumait—oh! il étoit gentil, il étoit gourmand—le petit homme!*"

There is much practical wisdom also in the following reasoning. The Vicar of Bray belonged to an educated class, and possessed means of forming a correct judgment, which rendered his versatility disgraceful, but the case is widely different with the chief Interlocutor in the ensuing pithy dialogue: "They want to make me join them, Sir, in their emeutes and nonsense." "*Ma foi,*" I said to myself, "*Et qu'est-ce que tu as été toi sous l'empire?*" "*Cocher de Cabriolet.*" "And under Charles X.?" "*Cocher de Cabriolet.*" "And under Louis Philippe?" "*Cocher de Cabriolet?*" "And if there was a Republic what would you be?" "*Cocher de Cabriolet; alors que la dynastie aille comme elle pourra. Je ne m'en mêlerai point, moi qui ne serai jamais que Cocher de Cabriolet.*"

Many projects have been set on foot to divert the passion for amusement, which seems to beset the French working-classes, into beneficial channels; they waste Sunday, very frequently Monday and Tuesday at the tavern, or the spectacle. Lectures

on chemistry and on painting have been projected, but in vain in Paris; and Metz appears to be the only great town in the empire in which the experiment has at all succeeded. Without attempting to account for this success, Mr. Bulwer remarks, that "if you meet a working man (from Metz), you find him polite, polished, correct in his language, easy without being confident, in his conversation. You would take him, if he were not worse dressed, and better informed, for a respectable bourgeois of Paris." Surety for character is obtained by the *Livret* or certificate, which every artificer is obliged to have under the penalty of being treated as a vagabond. On this paper is written a brief history of the possessor—his name, the place and date of his birth, the names of the person to whom he was apprenticed, and of him whom he last served; his receipts, his debts, and his agreements. It is not stated, however, what security is provided against the falsification of these very important documents.

The political Police, with its whole army of spies, taken from every class of Society, and to be encountered in almost every scene of life, is pronounced to be just as unavailing at present, notwithstanding its interference with personal liberty, as it was in the time of the old Monarchy, of the Convention, of the Directory, and of the Empire. "Under the government of Louis Philippe," says Mr. Bulwer, "Don Carlos quietly traverses his kingdom, and an Italian adventurer almost succeeds in blowing up his family and his court."

The legal duration of service in the army is seven years; and it is calculated that about one-sixth re-enlists for two or four years, on the receipt of a small bounty. The Conscription calls out about 80,000 men annually; the volunteers, of whom the remainder of the army consists, amounted in 1833 only to 5591 men, and of these, 839 coming from the department of the Capital, may of course be considered as the *scabies et contagium Urbis*. The pay of the Privates is about four-pence half-penny per day, and from this pittance one penny is withheld as a provision for small articles of dress, three half-pence (pence) are kept for food, and the balance, not quite three farthings, is given him for pocket-money. Each Company provides its mess, and cooks its own victuals; and the Soldier has two meals per day, the first, at ten o'clock, consists of soup and a quarter of a pound of boiled beef; the second, at five o'clock, of a small portion of potatoes or beans, with a quarter of a pound of mutton or veal. The daily allowance of tolerable bread is one pound and a half. Water is the common drink: for wine, brandy, or other spirits are allowed only on occasions of public rejoicing, or on a visit from the General, and then in very small proportions. A pension of from 200 to 300 francs is earned by fifteen years' service in

the time of war, and by twice that period in the time of peace; and the orphans and widows of those killed in battle receive one-fourth of the pension to which their fathers and husbands would have been entitled had they survived to their retirement. Twenty-two crimes are punishable by death, which is certain to follow on insurrection, insubordination, or a blow from an inferior to a superior. The minor punishments are hard labour, seclusion, the *boulet* or dragging the shot, labour on the public works, and imprisonment. There are yet lighter inflictions, calculated to operate upon a sense of honour. Marriage is of very rare occurrence; for although the Colonel of a Regiment may grant permission to non-commissioned officers, and even to privates, this favour is seldom or never accorded, except to soldiers who wish to marry some woman who may be useful to the regiment as *Cantonnière* or Washerwoman. The Minister of War, to whom the same authority belongs with regard to the officers, never consents save in cases in which the pecuniary situation of the applicant is likely to be benefited. Promotion, after a certain number of years of service is attainable, from the very lowest to the highest rank, and purchase of commissions is entirely abolished. The National Guard, re-organized in 1831, consists of all persons from twenty to sixty years of age, who are obliged to serve for the districts in which they are domiciled, and is in fact a sort of local militia.

In his chapter on centralization, Mr. Bulwer perceives the finger of Government throughout every Institution of France.

In the Chamber of Deputies he observes little to applaud, and concludes that it is by no means a fair representation of public opinion. And, in his summary, he finishes by the subjoined avowal, vol. ii. p. 291:—

“I should say, in short, that the best government for France, without starting forth in quest of any of those extraordinary changes which are to produce theoretical perfection, would be a *popular and splendid monarchy, supported here by a national army, there by a citizen guard—administered by a centralized administration, and having for coadjutors—a Chamber of Peers elected from the superiorities of the country, which would represent, as it were, its moral interests; and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by a large constituency, which would represent its material interests.*

“Such a government would be consistent with the manners and the ideas I have described; it would make what belongs to old times compatible with the birth of new; and by placing despotism under the legitimate control of a democracy, which now agitates society in opposition to the law—render possible the union of free institutions, with a confidence in the executive power.

“Such a government would no doubt have its faults; but it would accord with all the predominant feelings of the French nation; and, at such a government, if the present dynasty be not overturned by some violent shock, it will—even in spite of itself—arrive.”

On the whole, Mr. Bulwer's volumes exhibit some talent and much more presumption; and in these times of universal education, we heartily wish him a more beneficial occupation than he can find by translating in his Appendices the passages from the French Authors whom he has cited in the body of his work. Is it possible that such a process can be necessary for any who are likely to become his readers?

ART. III.—*An Essay towards a general Evangelical Hymn and Prayer-book, for Church and Family Use.* Hamburgh, 1833.

MANY persons may not be aware of the prominent position assigned to hymns in the religious system of Germany. Not only do they engross as large a portion of time in the public services as prayer itself, but they appear to be considered, at least, equally essential thereto: they are referred to by the preacher in his discourses, and furnish the rude peasant with arguments, and are appealed to as an authority in his disputes. And this national predilection extends to the highest of their land; the hymns of six royal authors are contained in the collection now before us, and many others were either originally composed for the use of this or that pious prince, or were known to be their wonted formulæ of devotional expression, and, in several instances, used by them as such in their last moments. From the Reformation downwards there has been an uninterrupted succession of hymn-writers, whose productions are so numerous that the hymns now extant in Germany are said to amount to 80,000. Various and partial collections of these have from time to time been made, and are contained in hymn-books which from their bulk and their lines being printed continuously, as if they were prose, appear strange to the eyes of a foreigner. None, however, of the collections have obtained any general acceptance, or given lasting satisfaction, partly from the older and more valuable hymns being omitted or mutilated, partly from the Lutheran collections excluding the hymns of the Reformed Churches, and vice versâ, and partly from an absence of arrangement in the books themselves. In order to supply those defects Dr. Bunsen, first the secretary and now the successor of Niebuhr, as Prussian minister at Rome, undertook in 1817 the task of compiling a general and systematic hymn-book. In 1833 the result of his fifteen-years' labour appeared in the shape of a thick octavo volume, the first part of which contains hymns for public worship, and the second hymns for private use, and prayers, public and private. A copious appendix furnishes biographical notices of the authors, and critical accounts of many of the hymns.

The signal beauty and excellence of the hymns themselves, their peculiar function as constituting, in the absence of a liturgy, the settled religious language of the nation, and their essential harmony during a series extending through four centuries, invest them with considerable interest and even authority, and claim the attention of those, who are alive to the value of good hymns, and sensible of our own deficiency in this respect. It may not, therefore, be unacceptable to our readers to lay before them the substance of Dr. Bunsen's own account of the materials of which his work is composed, and also of his method of arranging them.

It is a great cause of regret that the Psalter of David should no longer, either in a prose or metrical version, form part of the public worship in Germany. Immediately on the Reformation indeed a metrical version was almost exclusively used in that country; from whence it would seem that the practice was transferred to our own church.* But while this privilege is still preserved to us, it was there gradually thrown aside, and their hymns occupied its place. These are truly a rich inheritance, and most adequate and direct vehicles of Christian prayer and thanksgiving. Still their true office is in subordination to the Psalter, illustrating and unfolding its typical and prophetic text, and loudly proclaiming the accomplishment of the glad events which had before only been whispered in the soft tones of hope.

Though in Germany the use of the Psalter is thus in abeyance, much of its substance is contained, and, as it were, reproduced in their hymnody, and they also possess paraphrases of several whole psalms, and of two out of the three evangelical hymns,—the Benedictus and the Nunc dimittis, the Magnificat appearing to have been long sung, as with us, in its original form. And these form the basis of the present collection. "But," in the words of Dr. Bunsen, "their Reformed Church has also surveyed the treasures of Christian antiquity, and hearkened after the voices of holy men of every age, tongue, and nation, in order to commit to her communities the most precious of them as their lawful inheritance, and a living witness of the undefiled unity of the faith." Accordingly, they have several versions of the Gloria in Excelsis and of the Te Deum, the former being the great hymn of the Eastern, as the latter is of the Western Church. The former of these being called in the Apostolical constitutions ἡ προσευχὴ ἐωθινή,† is with reason believed to be referred to by Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan,‡ as the hymn which the Christians were wont to address to Christ on Sundays before daybreak. It was introduced into the Latin Church by Hilary,

* Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. part 1, 135.

† Bingham, 14, 2, 2.

‡ Lib. 9, 7.

Bishop of Poitiers, about the year 360, and named the "greater doxology" to distinguish it from the "lesser," which is that so frequently used in our service. The *Te Deum*, the only original hymn of the primitive Western Church, and, as it were, responsive (antiphonema) to the Eastern doxology, is by an uncertain tradition assigned to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine jointly. But Archbishop Usher found it in two MSS. ascribed to Nicetus, Bishop of Triers, who lived A. D. 535, and it would seem to have been composed about that time, for the use of the Gallican Church.* St. Ambrose may, however, truly be called the father of hymnody in the Latin Church. St. Hilary brought back from his banishment the Eastern mode of Church-singing; and he and St. Ambrose composed many hymns, the use of which first began at Milan, during a severe persecution in the year 386. Having taken refuge in the Church, and being in hourly peril of death, the pious Ambrose and his flock strengthened their faith and consoled their sorrows by this means,† and from hence sprung the choral science of the West. Two centuries afterwards the hymns of St. Hilary and St. Ambrose still sounded through the continent, as we incidentally learn from the Spanish Churches having objected to their use, which was sanctioned and enforced by a decree of the fourth Council of Toledo, A. D. 660.‡

Owing to the gradual desuetude of the Latin tongue, and the consequent exclusion of the people from a share in the services, hymnody languished during the long interval which intervened between its rise and the Reformation. Still at this latter period, 150 hymns, many of them still to be found in the Roman Breviary, were the venerable heritage of the Church. And it is painful to reflect that, while Luther and his colleagues carefully selected and translated the best of these, we of this country at once relinquished, and have made no effort to recover this invaluable treasure. Twelve of them, thus polished with reverent care, adorn the present collection.

Germany has received a rich tribute to her store of sacred songs from a remarkable course of events. In the eleventh century a fierce struggle arose in Bohemia and Moravia, which countries had been converted by Cyril and Methodius, two Greek monks, respecting the use of their mother tongue in the Church service. The larger number submitted to the rule and usage of the Romish Church, while a small body adhering to their ancient custom became separated from the rest. These,

* Bingham, 14, 2, 9.

† Augustin. Confess. l. 9, c. 7, quoted in Bingham, 14, 2, 10, and 13, 5, 7.

‡ Bingham, 14, 1, 17.

persecuted by Gregory the VIIIth, strengthened in 1176 by the accession of some of the Waldenses, and again in 1453 from other quarters, formed a community on the borders of Silesia, under the name of the United or Bohemian Brothers. During a grievous persecution in 1467 they are said to have obtained the Apostolical succession from the Waldenses only a few months before the death of their last Bishop Stephen. In the years 1468-71 they again suffered; a peaceful time followed, and in 1500 they possessed two hundred Churches in Bohemia and Moravia. But in 1508 so cruelly were they oppressed, that they sent four brethren into different quarters of the world in order to discover a pure communion to which they might attach themselves. Such an one however they found not; and remaining in Bohemia sent in 1522 emissaries to Luther to confer with him on the subject of Church discipline. Their hymns bear date during the 15th and 16th centuries, and are characterized by quiet enthusiasm and childlike simplicity.

Meanwhile in Germany itself the spirit of sacred poetry slumbered, or at most was barely kept alive by fragments sung during processions, and the more popular services of the Church. But in these slept a spark which the great authors of German hymnody kindled into a flame; and when a path was opened it glowed far and wide. In 1524 appeared eight hymns by Luther, and in 1545 eighty-nine more, by which, in the opinion of Coleridge, "he did as much for the Reformation as by his translation of the Bible,"* and his own countrymen bear frequent testimony to their power.

Ever since there has been an uninterrupted succession of hymn writers; of whom 287 are noticed in the work before us. They form two distinct schools; the elder of which, characterised by its simplicity and its reverent exhibition of the historical and external relations of the Creator to His creatures, reached its highest perfection in Paul Gerhard, who lived A.D. 1606—1676. The union of cheerfulness with deep feeling, which is expressed in his hymns, is a type of the German national character, and perhaps on this very account his name is affectionately cherished by them. This school was succeeded by another, which still prevails too exclusively in Germany. Dwelling more on the inward actings of religion, and attempting to develop the experience of the heart, it has manifestly tended to an excess of sensibility and self-contemplation. Founded by Franck and Angelus, it has been adorned by the names of Freylinghausen,—of Rambach, who united the merits of the two schools,—of Count Zinzendorf, the re-founder of the Bohemian Brotherhood,—of Lampe, the learned commentator on St. John,—of Teerstegan, a mystic of the

* Table Talk, 1, 164.

Reformed Church,—of Gellert, an illustrious name in Germany,—and latterly of Döring. One principal object of Dr. Bunsen is,—not entirely to supplant this school, but by a revival of the older hymns, to restore a more healthful and Catholic tone, to lead the mind to look out from self up to the great Object of adoration, and to substitute a devotional and reverent spirit for one of complacent sentimentality.

From this outline of his materials we proceed to his mode of arranging them.

The Christian year may be divided into three periods, and this with reference not to their respective duration, but to the essential difference of the events commemorated in each. The first (Advent) bears in German the appropriate name of Preparation-tide (Rust-zeit); in the hymns assigned to it, not only the first and second Advent, but a spiritual Advent in the heart of each believer, is shadowed forth.

The second, extending from Christmas to Whitsuntide, embraces the historical development of the Redemptive Scheme, and each solemn event between these two points, the Circumcision—Epiphany—Crucifixion—Resurrection and Ascension—is celebrated by its appropriate hymns. Dr. Bunsen finds also in the hymns ground for a more general division of this period into Epiphany-tide and Passion-tide, referring respectively to the teaching and suffering of the Redeemer. And this is partly warranted by the actual practice of the German churches, which assign to the latter a more extended season of commemoration, answering to our Lent, and not Passion-week only. The feast of the Presentation in the Temple, being observed according to its historical date, forty days after the Nativity, breaks in upon this notion of the Epiphany-tide. But the observance of this feast, the institution of which is ascribed to Gelasius the First, A.D. 492, about which time at any rate the title of *ἡμέρα Φώτων* was transferred to it from the Epiphany, and the ceremony of bearing about and consecrating the church tapers was introduced,* (whence the popular name of Candlemas, Licht Messe,) is nearly discontinued in Germany.

The Saints'-days being there unhappily neglected, we find no hymns allotted to them, but some appropriate to the minor feasts scattered through the year are added. These are the Day for the remembrance of the Dead (Todten-fest),—the feast of St. Michael and All Angels—the Reformation, Harvest, and Peace feasts. A day of Mourning (Busstag) is likewise observed.

The third period, including the remainder of the year from Whitsuntide to Advent, and representing the internal nature and operation of the Scheme of Redemption, which had been histo-

* Bingham, 20, 4, 7.

rically developed in the former periods, may be called Trinity or Church-tide. In arranging its appropriate hymns, which form the bulk of the volume, Dr. Bunsen finds himself deprived of the guidance of historical events, and looks for some method whereby he may reduce the confused mass to its due order and proportions. And here he lays down a principle to the value of which, however opinions may differ as to his success in applying it, all, we think, will assent. And this is, that the clue to their systematic arrangement must be looked for in the *hymns themselves*. Surely we may recognize here a catholic and reverential spirit, very different from that of those compilers who first lay down as a basis their own religious views, and then inquire for homogeneous materials wherewith to build their superstructure. The natural consequence of this procedure is the rejection of all the most primitive and venerable hymns as unsuitable (which truly they are) to such a system, and the substitution of the crude effusions of modern religionists.

In its general outline the arrangement of the hymns of this period of course follows the order of Christian worship itself, and thus it sets out with hymns of penitence and confession. Between these and the hymns of direct prayer and praise are interposed (answerably to the lessons in our service) those of an historical or didactic character, and which, from their varied contents, admit of subdivision. Neglecting formal differences, and searching for some clue to direct him through this labyrinth, Dr. Bunsen considers that he has discovered it in the idea of "Faith." At the head of his arrangement he places the great Object of faith, in His revealed relation to man, and the close of His dispensations—death, judgment, and eternity—at its termination. Along the line between these two points the whole of Religion moves, and it may be disposed into the following parts; the means of faith, the nature of faith, the works of faith, and the perfection of faith, or hope, which has for its object the things of futurity. "And thus," he says, "is the course, which, setting forth from Heaven itself, represents the life of the faithful in this world of strife and misery, and then, by the power of faith evokes from the dimness of futurity the glory of the life to come, accomplished." Penitence and faith, about which the two former parts of Christian worship are, as we have seen, respectively conversant, are the necessary pre-requisites for that which is its close and consummation—prayer and thanksgiving. Now if we analyse the latter of these we arrive at the idea of "self-sacrifice." For how can we testify our unreserved gratitude to our Maker, save by acknowledging all we have and are to be His gift, and thus our whole life may be considered as one continuous offering of ourselves to Him.

But that is a one-sided view of this life, which confines it to acts of charity and beneficence, and reduces public worship to an ordinance, useful indeed to the weak, but unnecessary to the established Christian. So far is this from the truth, that such worship is required, not by the earthly, but by the divine part of man, and is a want which he shares in common with the angels and blessed spirits, whose happiness consists in its exercise. Now it is as little possible to supply this want by private prayer, as it would be to perform works of charity in solitude. In the Church, therefore, must the offering of ourselves be made;—and this act constitutes the summit and perfection of Christian worship, and the fulfilment of the intimations of Prophecy. In development of this view, Dr. Bunsen presents a series of hymns, which, setting out with prayer, intercession, and praise, gradually ascend to a more direct expression of the idea of “self-sacrifice.” Upon the theory here propounded we would interpose this remark, that involving, as it does, much truth, it must ever remain unintelligible and unavailable to the many, and that mysticism seems its probable termination. Happy they! to whom the *true* Christian Sacrifice, neither corrupted by superstition nor degraded by rationalism, is still preserved, which, while it allows and implies an intention the most spiritual, presents a tangible and definite object to the mind, and guards it from the incursions of indistinct and overheated fancies.

But to return to our account: the public hymns conclude with a series embracing the offices of Baptism, Confirmation, Marriage, Ordination, Burial, and Holy Communion, most of the hymns belonging to the last being Lutheran.

The second part of the work before us is composed of hymns for private use, and of prayers; the former are arranged in an order corresponding to that of the public ones; and to them are added hymns appropriate to the various events of life; distress, temporal and mental—sickness—and death. The prayers are placed in the same order, and consist of a selection as well from the Doctors of the Eastern and Western Church, as from German authors. We are informed that some of them have been used by a Protestant congregation at Rome, but neither this, nor the Liturgy authoritatively promulgated by the King of Prussia, seems likely to be willingly received in Germany. There is indeed a peculiar reason for the failure of the latter, it having been framed for the purpose of uniting the Reformed and Lutheran persuasions, and thus being one of those schemes of comprehension, which, however amiable in intention, must ever either be frustrated, or, if successful, issue in the sacrifice of essential principles to the semblance of unity. But it is to be feared that long deprivation has disqualified them

from readily appreciating the privilege of a regular liturgy. No prayers, however excellent, will at once approve themselves to the mind; they must be taken on trust and used, not in the spirit of criticism, but reverently, before we can duly appreciate their value. When so received, and rendered venerable by antiquity, they operate upon the character of the community in a thousand unseen ways, checking irreverence and presumption, moderating the heat of enthusiasm, directing it into the right channels, and elevating the mind to the true Object of worship. These, among others, are the blessings which an hereditary Liturgy confers on ourselves; rich in the possession of which we need not seek new treasures in foreign lands; rather may we dispense to them of our own abundance. But our Hymnody is not in such a state as to relieve us from the necessity of taking counsel of others; and we shall do well to consider, with reference to the collection before us, both what our condition really is, and where our deficiencies chiefly exist.

Several reasons would at once present themselves even to the mind of one ignorant of the actual state of the case why the English hymns might naturally be inferior to those of Germany, both in number and value. For instance, there is certainly a more general love of music among the latter people, and their character, in spite of the epithet we are wont to apply to it, has more warmth and susceptibility than our own. Then again, as our language, from its admixture of foreign elements, is not so homely and simple as theirs, so neither was it applied, during the period of its greatest flexibility and vigour, to the composition of hymns. External circumstances too have conspired with this inaptitude of character and language. Hardly had our Church re-established herself in comparative purity of doctrine and worship, after being relieved from Papal corruptions, when she was involved in the troubled times of the first Charles. With the return of order arose an excessive dread of every thing bordering on enthusiasm, engendered by the extravagance of the Puritans. And so the time past on till a period of apathy succeeded, which shut out all immediate prospect of any progress in Hymnody. It must likewise be remembered that while such causes *indisposed* us to the production and use of hymns, a liturgy admitting the active participation of the people in its recital partially *supplied* their place in Christian worship. This is illustrated by the case of the Separatists, who, having substituted extemporaneous prayer by the minister, and so reduced their followers to the condition, externally at least, of passive hearers instead of active worshippers, have been obliged to resort to congregational singing, in order to keep their association from falling to pieces, and the flame of devotion from

going out. Some might add the authorised Versions of the Psalter to the causes before alluded to. But when we observe that it was found necessary to accompany their publication with exhortations to their use, and when we remember that even yet such use is too frequently an act of obedience rather than a willing expression of social devotion, we shall perhaps admit that their real effect has been, not to supersede hymns, but to prevent Church singing from falling into oblivion altogether.

Whether or not we have pointed out the true *causes* of the deficiency before regretted, the *fact* at least is indubitable, as a very brief consideration of our resources will suffice to show. In the first place, then, we possess two versions of the entire Psalter. The elder of these, partly composed by Sternhold, and completed by Hopkins and other Marian exiles, and before partially in use, was formally authorised by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1548.* Inartificial as it is, and obscured by a versification of the most homely kind, oftentimes approaching to doggerel, it has the advantage of being directly translated from the Hebrew original, and is even considered by some to convey its meaning more faithfully than any other version we possess. It is with regret, therefore, that we find it so frequently supplanted by the new version, in which, though composed with infinitely greater care and elegance, the spirit and character of the original is for the most part evaporated, and in its stead we are presented with a *caput mortuum* of rhetorical common-place. In several instances, indeed, this version hardly escapes the charge of serious doctrinal error.

Besides the old and new version of the Psalter, various paraphrases of certain psalms, and of portions of Scripture, exist; and among the former, those by Addison are very pleasing poems. But none of these, how valuable soever they would be where the Psalter itself was disused, can with us claim a permanent position; nor has it, in fact, ever been conceded to them. And this because, viewed as paraphrases, they have been postponed to the more literal versions; while, as original compositions, they are destitute of that individuality without which no poetry can exercise a permanent influence on the national character and literature. Perhaps the only hymns which can properly be said to have done so, are the beautiful morning and evening hymns of Bishop Ken. These, with his midnight hymn, which deserves to be better known, a few by Addison, and the two paraphrases of the (so-called) Ambrosian hymn, "Veni Creator Spiritus," the longer of which was composed by the Reformers for King Edward's first

* Strype's Ecc. Mem. vol. ii. part i. 136.

Ordinal, and the shorter on the review of the Prayer-Book after the Restoration,* form the narrow basis of our Hymnody. The superstructure (such as it is) has been raised by chance workmen, and built neither of genuine nor lasting materials. The chief contributors to it have been three eminent Dissenters, I. Watts, born 1674,—P. Doddridge, born 1702,—and C. Wesley, born 1708. The hymns of the first of these writers are, in Dr. Bunsen's opinion, classical, but deficient in evangelical depth and a Catholic spirit; Doddridge he places in the first rank of our sacred poets, and Wesley he compares to Count Zinzendorf, as regards the liveliness and fluency of his diction, and the fervency of his sentiments, and likewise in the peculiar character and unequal merit of his hymns. None of their compositions, however, have obtained any general acceptance in our Church, and, from their strong resemblance to the later German school in its tendencies and defects, it is not to be desired that they should do so.

Turning from hymns for public use to those of a private and contemplative character, we find productions of infinitely greater merit, yet perhaps not altogether of a kind to sway our national tastes and feelings. The quaintnesses of George Herbert's saintly poems must ever retard their progress. But there is another work to develop and establish whose influence time alone is required: we mean Professor Keble's *Christian Year*, which, while it transcends our praises, has, we trust, become a household treasure in too many homes to need any recommendation.

Our Hymnody, being in so imperfect and jejune a state, does not indeed admit of being arranged in a systematic manner like that of the work before us; but it may fairly be asked whether it is exhibited to the best advantage in our compilations. We will offer two remarks by way of answer to this inquiry.

1. It appears to us entirely essential that the ancient and classical hymns of a country should form the basis of its hymn books, and that a regular chronological series should, as much as possible, be preserved. And this not only because each hymn is for the most part valuable in proportion to its antiquity, but also because, men's minds dwelling in different ages on different portions of the truth, to give an exclusive prominence to the productions of any one period is to destroy the symmetry of the whole body, suppress some of its parts, and present others in a fallacious and distorted form.

2. Another equally essential point is a due discrimination between hymns proper for public and for private use. A religious mind, when deeply impressed with some solemn theme, or longing

* Mant's Common Prayer. Ordination of Priests.

to give utterance to its thoughts, yet shrinking from their disclosure, is prompted to clothe them in the figurative language of poetry, which, while it is sufficiently intelligible to kindred minds, eludes the rude gaze of the curious, leaving the boundaries of fancy and emotion flexible and indefinite. To such a source all really devotional poetry may perhaps be traced, and who would wish it closed up? But to introduce it into our mixed congregations, as a medium of direct worship, is a perversion and irreverence truly distressing.

Only let our hymn-books generally be brought to the test of these principles, by those who admit their correctness, and we need not assume the disagreeable office of direct censure.

After all, until our present stock shall have received considerable accessions from original sources, we cannot hope to furnish our Churches with a complete body of Hymnody. Meanwhile, by making the most of our own genuine materials, by selection and translations of the venerable hymns of the Latin Church, (of which the Breviary is a rich treasure-house,) and by borrowing from the stores of Germany, much might be done. And we cannot doubt that our countrymen would willingly forsake the insipid and unhealthy beverage which is too often presented them for the pure fountains of primitive and Catholic Truth.

ART. IV.—1. *Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. For the year 1834—1835.* London. Printed for the Society. Sold by Rivingtons.

2. *Memoir of Mrs. Stallybrass, Wife of the Rev. Edward Stallybrass, Missionary to Siberia. With an Introduction by Joseph Fletcher, D. D.* London. Fisher, Son, and Co., Newgate Street. 1836.

3. *Memoir of Mary M. Ellis, Wife of the Rev. William Ellis, Missionary to the South Seas, and Foreign Secretary to the London Missionary Society; including Notices of Heathen Society, of the Details of Missionary Life, and the remarkable Manifestations of Divine Goodness in severe and protracted Affliction.* By William Ellis. London. Published by Fisher, Son, and Co.

4. *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, from February to August, 1835.* London. Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill. 1836.

THERE was put into our hands the other day a Statement of the Storrington* District Committee, in aid of the Society for the

* In the county of Sussex.

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year ending at Midsummer, 1835, in which were the following words: "*There never was a time when such charitable exertions were more needed; and the Report of the Parent Society is one of the most painfully interesting documents, amongst many such, in the present day.*"

We were heartily glad to see this, as well as the appeal there made. And not less glad were we, on looking over the list of subscribers, to see the names of many, whose small subscriptions, according to their means, attested the spirit of charity. For, when we read many names set down for shillings and half-crowns, we are reminded of the widow's mite, and (though in some cases we may possibly be wrong) we are, nevertheless, sure that, in most cases, what is given is given not grudgingly, and out of necessity, but from a good heart, and because *God loveth a cheerful giver*, and willeth the Gospel to be preached unto all nations.

The District Committee here alluded to was established in the year 1820, and the total remitted in sixteen years to the Parent Society is 506*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* Therefore we think we are not acting unwisely in calling upon those of the Clergy who are not connected with such a Society, to join one forthwith, and to consider, that although the products at the first may be small, still, even in this sense, *the day of small things is not to be despised*. Only let this one plant, and another water, and God will give the increase.

But it seems that, in some parts, an evil spirit, whether of indifference or of opposition, has gone forth, and the endeavours of many are not seconded. This, however, has always been the case, and those who will call to mind the exertions of Bishop Berkely, ("one," says Southey,* "of the best, wisest, and greatest men whom Ireland, with all its fertility of genius, has produced,") will well recollect how he answered the gain-sayers in his "Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations," &c.

"Men of narrow minds," says the good Bishop, "have a peculiar talent at objection, being never at a loss for something to say against whatsoever is not of their own proposing. And perhaps it will be said in opposition to this proposal, that if we thought ourselves capable of gaining converts to the Church, we ought to begin with Infidels, Papists, and Dissenters of all denominations, at home, and to make proselytes of these before we think of foreigners; and that, therefore, our scheme is against duty. . . . In answer to this, I say, that religion, like light, is imparted without being diminished. That whatever is done abroad, can be no hindrance or let to the conversion of infidels or others at home. That those who engage in this affair imagine they will not be missed, where there is no want of schools or clergy; but that they may

* Life of Wesley, vol. ii. p. 260.

be of singular service in countries but thinly supplied with either, or altogether deprived of both; that our Colonies being of the same blood, language, and religion, with ourselves, are in effect our countrymen. But that Christian charity, not being limited by those regards, doth extend to all mankind."* *O digna viro sententia!*

Now if it be asked why we have headed this article with the Society's Report, and have appended to it the Memoirs of the Wives of two Missionaries belonging to the London Missionary Society,—our answer is, (however much we may wish that all Missionary Societies were joined together in unity,) we have done so because the object of both is *only good*. And should there be certain requisites wanting in the one, and certain irregularities which, as *ordained* Churchmen we cannot altogether approve of, our prayer, nevertheless, is that of the righteous Hezekiah, *The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary.*†

It will be our object in what follows to recount briefly the labours of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in British North America,—to refer, according to our space, to the Siberian and South Sea Island Missions, to draw the attention of our readers to the painfully interesting Journal of Archdeacon Wix in Newfoundland,—and to sum up the whole matter with an appeal to the charities of Englishmen, which, (blessed be God!) have never been appealed to in vain. Witness it, ye unholy and judicially blinded politicians, who are labouring to starve the Church in Ireland! Woe, woe, woe! that we should be constrained to say, in the words of Ezra, *the hand of the RULERS hath been chief in this trespass!* Τοιοῦδε μέντοι φῶτες ἐμπληκτοὶ βρότων!

And first of all as concerns the venerable Society, let man, woman, and child, (being taught "the proposed enlargement of the East India Missions, together with the extension of the Society's operations in the West Indies, upon a scale not altogether unsuited to the wants of the emancipated Negroes,") give ear to the following appeal. *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

"In order to meet the present and future demands upon its funds, the Society throws itself upon the Christian liberality of the British public, with more especial reference to the Members of the Established Church. It feels that adequate support cannot be produced until a just sense of what is due from this country to its Colonies, and to the heathen, shall be entertained by the great body of the people. Nor can it expect that help which may enable it to carry its various plans into effect, unless it

* See Works, vol. iii. p. 225. Ed. 3vo. London, 1820.

† Chron. xxx. 18, 19.

can render a satisfactory account of the funds already intrusted to its care, and can show that it is proceeding in the sacred task of propagating the Gospel throughout the world. By planting Christian Churches among our fellow countrymen in foreign parts, and supporting them until such time as they may reasonably be expected to support themselves, by procuring the Word of God to be faithfully preached to natives of India, and gradually raising up congregations of Christians from among the Hindoos and Mahommedans, the Society endeavours to discharge the arduous duty in which it has engaged. It ventures to hope that a favourable construction will be put upon the different measures which it may adopt with a view to the furtherance of its designs; that due allowance will be made for the extreme difficulties by which its path is beset; and, above all, that the pious and charitable will unite in fervent prayer for that Divine blessing, which can alone cause the seed to swell, and the fruit to ripen, and the harvest to be gathered in its season.”—p. 20.

Having extracted this appeal, we now give the heads, together with a short detail, as we find them in the Report.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—Herein it will be found that the withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant has been the cause of much trouble and much distress,—but that, nevertheless, “in a small number of instances only has the Society been abandoned by Clergymen formerly in connection with it.” The arrangement now in force is, that the *existing* Missionaries in British North America are to receive not less than three-fourths of the salaries which had been paid to them previously to the discontinuance of the Parliamentary Grant. In Nova Scotia, the hope expressed, that the congregation would fill up the deficiencies, has been satisfactorily fulfilled;—and in Upper Canada, where the deductions from the salaries were less, the distress of the Missionaries is less also. But in Lower Canada and New Brunswick no exertions have been made for supplying the wants of the Clergy. Next to the diminution of the salaries of the Missionaries, the Society has to regret nothing more than the retrenchment, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant, which relates to schoolmasters and catechists in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. With reference to King’s College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, the Society have found it necessary to suppress the scholarships and exhibitions in Nova Scotia,—but it proposes to discontinue the divinity scholarships in the diocese of Quebec and New Brunswick. But as it is absolutely necessary that a seminary for divinity students should exist in the Colonies, the Society has resolved to continue its annual grant of 500*l.* towards the general expense of the institution,—“trusting that, with this assistance, it will be able to provide means for clerical education in the Colonies, and ultimately to contribute, on an extended scale, to the propagation of the Gospel in British North America.”

Such are the heavy drawbacks with which the irreligious* and unchristian withdrawal of the Parliamentary Grant have been attended. And there are many who think, (perhaps not unwisely,) † that this withdrawal will, in the end, prove the cause of the loss of the two Canadas. We dare not say we do not deserve it,—but we yet hope better things. O Christian,

“ If ever thou hast felt another's pain,
If ever when he sighed hast sigh'd again,
If ever on thy eyelid stood the tear,
That pity had engendered, drop one here!”

But we must proceed to the short detail promised; and first, of

NOVA SCOTIA.—The Society's Missionaries in this field of their labours are 32. Of this distant land the Bishop has furnished the Society with the journals of four visits paid in the Summer and Autumn of 1834,—most interesting documents! They will be found in the Appendix to the Report. From amongst many touching incidents therein mentioned, we give the following almost at random. At a place called Fisherman's Harbour, (on the south-eastern shore,) a very aged Englishman, upwards of eighty years old, was supported by one of the poor families there.

“ So little did he expect such a visit, that he concluded the Bishop in his neighbourhood must be of the Church of Rome; and, when he was first spoken to, said, with much good feeling, that he was too old to change his religion, and forsake the Church of his fathers. He was greatly delighted when he found we were of the same communion; and gladly received the rites which he had long since despaired of obtaining.”—p. 65.

“ A respectable Presbyterian minister, for some years past, had been in the habit of paying annual, or semiannual visits to several settlements on this shore. When the Church at Ship Harbour was built, he applied for permission to use it. He was allowed to *preach* in it, but the people begged to have the Liturgy of the Established Church read as usual, by their own reader, to which the minister readily listened.”

“ In the last year a Baptist minister applied for the use of the Church, but this was civilly, though plainly, refused. One of the contributors to the Church, and only one, was an advocate for the admission of this minister. The rest promptly proposed to repay to him the amount of his subscription.”—p. 69.†

We have not room for more, nor for the Bishop's concluding

* We should be glad if some one would make the Heathen's line (in its spirit) canonical, and recollect it, and act up to it.

Βούλου κρατεῖν μὲν, ξὺν θεῷ δ' αἰεὶ κρατεῖν.

Jackson well writes—“ The fool of fools, the irreligious politician!” See Works, † vol. i. p. 866. Ed. folio.

† We should observe that the Bishop says, with regard to these two anecdotes, that he inserts them, as they were related to me.

prayer, but we would particularly refer our readers to the letter of the Rev. James Shreve, p. 105.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Missionaries of the Society here are ten. But of this district we purpose to say nothing now, as we shall have presently to refer to Archdeacon Wix's Journal. But, reader, if thou hast thy comforts around thee, look to the letter from the Rev. Thomas Wood, p. 129, and know how the Missionary is, ἐν κόποις, ἐν ἀγρυπνίαις, ἐν νηστεύαις!

NEW BRUNSWICK.—The Society's Missionaries here are twenty-six. For the letters we must refer to the Appendix. The extract which follows from the Report is truly a painful one:—

“The allowance from the territorial revenue, which Government had engaged to pay to the existing Clergy in New Brunswick, so long as the number employed previously to 1833 continued undiminished, has been withdrawn in consequence of the retirement of several Missionaries, and the whole remaining expense is thrown upon the Society; but as the Clergy reserves in this province are understood to be of very considerable value, and there is likewise a territorial revenue belonging to the Crown, the Society trusts that a portion of the charge, which must be incurred in maintaining an adequate number of Clergyman, will be defrayed from these sources.”—p. 27.

PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND with two Missionaries, CAPE BRETON with two, and the Archdeaconry of BERMUDAS complete the Diocese of Nova Scotia; and here, each one of the five is ὁ κόποις περισσώτερος!

IN LOWER CANADA the Society has twenty-nine Missionaries and five divinity Students. But here, we grieve to say, the discontinuance of the Parliamentary Grant has been sadly felt, and has not been supplied from local sources. In UPPER CANADA, the number of the Missionaries is forty-five, and the appearance of things is more cheering. “The Missionaries appointed previously to April, 1832, are now in the receipt of £170 per annum from the Colonial Government, and £100 per annum has been paid to those who have been appointed since that time. The building also of additional Churches has been prosecuted with great success.” But we must refer to the Report of the Bishop's Visitation; and we trust the appointment of a Suffragan Bishop, whose duty it should be to preside over the Church in the Lower Province, will be ere long sanctioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and confirmed by his Majesty's Government.

Herein, then, we have stated the labours of the Society in British North America, and our object in doing so has been to show how much more is needed from other sources now that the Parliamentary Grant has been withdrawn, and the *mother* country has, so to say, *forgotten her sucking child*, and given over the reli-

gious education and instruction of tens of thousands to those whose hearts yearn towards their brethren who sit *in darkness and in the shadow of death*. On the other labours of this venerable Society in the East, we have not space now to dwell; but to the extension of its labours in the West Indies we cannot avoid calling the attention of our readers, referring them for facts and for the disposal of the sums eventually received, whether from the King's Letter or from other sources, to the Report itself.

In former Reports the connection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts with the West Indies "has been confined to the execution of the duties devolved upon it as Trustee for the Codrington estates in Barbadoes, to the superintendence of the College and School, for whose maintenance the estates were bequeathed, and to the religious education of the Negroes, by whom the estates were cultivated." This was the former connection of the Society with these Colonies. But now matters are altered. The wants of the Isles have as it were cried aloud to heaven, and the cry has been heard in the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Nearly a million of our fellow creatures have been raised to the rank of freemen, and (for "the word of God is not bound,") the emancipated Negroes are athirst for religious instruction. Now for this the Society have agreed to set apart from their general funds the annual sum of £6000. But much is to be done, much is wanting for the building of Churches and Schools, and for the additional maintenance of Clergymen and Schoolmasters throughout the Colonies in that quarter. And in such a case what is the Christian's duty? Why to *go and do likewise*, as far as his means will permit, and to help his brethren of the dispersion. To look upon them on whom *the sun has looked*, and to bear in mind that though the sun has burnt their brows, yet,—

*"Non erubescendis adurit
Ignibus."**

And here we would offer a few remarks, which, however often dwelt upon, can hardly be repeated amiss. The time, then, shall come when *the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea*. God's word is the voucher for this. If any, therefore, doubt of it because to the outward eye wickedness compasseth about the dwellings and the tents of men, as well in civilized as in uncivilized countries,—the doubt arises from such an one's not having read, marked, and learned, so as inwardly to digest, the lively oracles of his Bible. Such an one is unstable in his belief, and in all his ways, because, having reversed the ordinance of heaven, he walks by sight, and not by faith. Whereas

* Hor. Od. i. xxvii. 15. C. Canticles, c. i. v. 6.

it is written, *the just shall live by his faith*. Accordingly he, to whom God's word is *yea and amen*, knows that there is a time in the secret counsels and in the unrevolved* scrolls of the Almighty's predestination, when the living Word shall be the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe. To the true believer, indeed, distance and time suggest no difficulties, for God is every where present, and his word runneth very swiftly. If he who is the great I AM and the everlasting Now,† say, *let there be light*, those that sit in the darkness and in the shadow of death shall see it, the eyes of the unconverted heathen shall open at the brightness of His coming, who is the *spirit of prophecy*,—the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped at the *testimony of Jesus*. Even as it is written in the prophet Zephaniah, *all men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathen*.

Now, on the mention of the isles of the heathen, we cannot fail to call to mind those many islands, whether in the far West or in the Southern Seas, where the Missionary is now labouring. And although *prophecy be not*, as saith St. Peter, *of any private interpretation*;—though it be not, that is, for people, as they list, to explain prophecy, but rather to wait faithfully for its completion, and to look to the end,—still, when we read of the *isles of the heathen*, and connect the expression with others which speak of the general diffusion and propagation of the Gospel, we can hardly help concluding that *the end is not yet*. The application of prophecy is not completed, more is yet to be fulfilled. For although primarily the *isles of the heathen* might, in the prophet's eyes, look *only* to those countries washed by the Mediterranean‡ sea, yet, for all this, the Holy Ghost may have *moved* them to prophecy with a far more distant view. So that when the *isles of the Gentiles* (Gen. x. 5,) and the *isles of Elisha*, (Ezek. xxvii. 7,) had received the mantle of prophecy, and the testimony of Jesus which is the spirit of it,—that same prophecy might still go on *conquering and to conquer*;—and to each prophetic text, relative to the isles, one might apply the angel's words in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, *thou must prophesy again before many*

* This expression, we believe, is from Jeremy Taylor.

† Cowley's couplet is—

“ Nothing there is to come, and nothing past,
But an eternal NOW does ever last.”

“ It is remarkable,” (they are the words of the late Rev. W. Mills, of Magdalen College, Oxford,) “ that Plato makes no distinction of time in the eternal archetype of the world, as it existed in the divine mind; λέγομεν γὰρ δὴ ὡς ἦν ἔστι τε καὶ ἔσται, τῇ δὲ τὸ ἔστι μόνον κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἵκει. — *Timæus*, p. 36; *Mill's Sermon*, p. 119. See also the remarks of Archbishop Whately, who quotes the above couplet. — *Essays*, p. 234, First Series.

‡ For all that may be known almost relative to the Isles of the Gentiles, see Mede's Discourses, xlii. 1, book i. p. 271, &c. See also Lowth on Isai. c. xi. 11.

peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings. For what saith our Saviour?—*This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a testimony unto them.*

We have not space to quote at large those prophecies which relate to the isles, but we would refer to Ps. lxxii. 10, and xcvi. 1; to Isai. xlii. 1—4, 9, 10; xlix. 1; li. 5; lxvi. 19; as explanatory of our remarks. And we cannot but think, that if we look on these prophecies of Scripture with a glad and a humble faith, charity must needs be kindled and hope increased. And if so, he that hath received the gift of heavenly things which the Gospel confers,—he who has been made “a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,” if he continue a Christian in *deed* and not in *name* only—will endeavour, as much as in him lies, whenever occasion offers, to extend the limits of Christ's kingdom. In a word, this becomes no longer a thing to be done or to be left undone *at will*, but it is a Christian duty. The command of our Saviour to the Apostles was, *Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.* This was the command to the *regularly ordained ministry* of the Gospel; and, without entering into any discussion on the subject of *ordination* here, let it suffice to say, that it is a command laid upon each man's shoulders *in his proper capacity*. None, it is true, *ought* to preach, without being regularly sent, (the exception proves the rule,) but then it is the bounden duty of those who are *hearers* of the Word to maintain those who preach it after God's ordinance. *For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, And, The labourer is worthy of his hire.* Every man, therefore, as we said, should be, as it were, a Missionary *in his proper capacity*, and a preacher too, and this he will be by ministering to those sent out on so holy a charge. But, over and above this, now that it *has* pleased God to be worshipped in temples made with hands, we are to see that such temples be reared for all faithful worshippers, as well in our own land as in our Colonies. In short, a dispensation is committed to every man who *has tasted that the Lord is gracious*, to tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is also King,—that his Christ is the Saviour of the world, and that the Holy Ghost is the Sanctifier of our corrupt and sinful hearts, as well as the Comforter of those into whose soul the iron of slavery has entered. Nothing on earth can cancel the obligation which binds all those who are set on the higher seats of this world to look to the religious instruction of

those below them,—first, of those nearest to them, and then of those of the dispersion in all the habitable parts of the globe. And

“ O ! 'tis a spectacle for angels bound
On embassies of mercy to this earth,
To gaze on with compassion and delight.”*

*We have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but for the sins of the WHOLE WORLD,—and if so, is it not a Christian duty to be thankful!—is it not a Christian duty to extend the knowledge of God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself? Amongst the rest of our merchandise and bales of goods, should we not add to our freight of gain that which shall be gain to others? Is it not our duty to spread the truth as it is in Jesus, and that the oracles of God may be known, and that men may be holy, just and good; and that they may leave those dumb idols by which they have been led captive of the Devil; for this, is it not our duty to encourage the Missionary, to encourage the religion of holy places, and the building of those Churches and Chapels which are the glory of all lands,—and, even if some do err, the repositories of truth?† Assuredly so! As we value the hope of our calling it is a Christian duty, and blessed is that widow's mite which forwards so good a work. For, if it be written, as it is, that *whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved*,—how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach, except they be sent?*

We are verily persuaded that the call was never louder for our assistance than in the case of the emancipated Negroes,—an act of mercy, which, even if it have been done too hastily‡ and without sufficient forethought for the bettering of their estate, still shall be received as an act of mercy. Nay, should these Colonies be wrested from our hands, and our former iniquities towards them be so visited, even then the act of mercy, suggested of heaven, has gone forth, and it needeth not to be repented of. And, therefore, the Christian, whose only hope is in the *strength* of his *salvation*, may say with Nehemiah, *think upon me, my God, for good, ac-*

* Montgomery's Pelican Island.

† See Bishop Butler's Sermons, pp. 284, 285, and 291. He well observes, that “Christianity is very particularly to be considered as a trust, deposited with us on behalf of others, in behalf of mankind, as well as for our own instruction.”

‡ “A cry against slavery was raised in Cowper's days; his voice was heard in it; in our own days it has prevailed, and brought about a consummation devoutly to be wished; though it was to be wished also, that the emancipation had been graduated and the Negroes better prepared for it.”—*Southey's Life of Cowper*, vol. ii. p. 52.

according to all that I have done for this people . . . Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy.—(c. v. 19, xiii. 22.) Yes! fully are we persuaded that the call was never louder, though the cry from across the Atlantic was caught upon the Irish shore, and was mingled with the cry of those who, by an unhallowed combination, though ministers of the sanctuary, were perishing for lack of bread!

Our help is called for, our charities are solicited, and the object of these remarks (which may be considered as supplementary to the paper in our last number) is to call the attention of our readers, so as that they may press the subject in their different neighbourhoods. Let those who have freely received, give as freely; and let the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things to our West Indian brethren, be exceedingly beautiful! But if any shall think that they need not be an object of such extreme solicitude, because divided from us "*Oceano dissociabili*,"—or, as others vainly and uncharitably, not to say impiously, think, by colour,—let them know that *God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.* Our cry, therefore, should be, when we think of each and every unconverted heathen, *Alas! my brother!*—and with our cry should be coupled a prayer* for their growth in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For, if the sun *has* burnt the *Æthiopian's* brow, and if his swarthy hue has been given him of heaven, *he* needs not be ashamed that the sun in the perfect day has marked him as "*a child of the sun*;" neither need *we* blush to call him brother,—yea, rather, if we do not, if we do not assist our West Indian Colonies in their spiritual need, we have little of Christianity but the name. And then, for our lack of charity, God may do to us, and more also, than he did to Israel of old, who were cast off because they were not *true* Israelites. But, blessed be God, he hath put it into the hearts of his people to give ear to their king's letter, and in this case, as well as in the case of the Irish clergy, an appeal to the charities of the nation has not been in vain! However men may understand it, *charity* (in some sense or other) *shall cover the multitude of sins!* And, as it has been beautifully said by Cudworth,† "*The golden beams of truth, and the silken*

* Jeremy Taylor's Prayer, (on Ps. xlv.,) "*For the Conversion of the Heathen, and Prosperity of the Church,*" occurred to our minds.—*Works*, vol. xv. pp. 133, 134.

† Many are but acquainted with this great man by his "*Intellectual System.*" This extract is from his *truly Evangelical* Sermon on 1 John, ii. 3, 4. It has been reprinted, and may be procured separately. Those who know it not will thank us for

cords of love, will draw men on a with a sweet violence, whether they will or no." Again let us express our joy that the appeal has not been unheeded; for, as says our great poet of Avon,

————— " if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not."

We have dwelt long on this subject, but it was one on which we were most anxious that our opinions should be before the world. We proceed now to the consideration of the next book at the head of this article—the Memoir of Mrs. Stallybrass.

And here at starting we must say that we were much delighted with it, and much disappointed with it also. But probably our disappointment is what we have to thank ourselves for: we looked for many, and various, and interesting accounts of the Mission, and those we did not find. We were sorry, and looked again to the title-page, and the title was, what the book simply is, "*Memoir of Mrs. Stallybrass*"—one of those "*devout*" and "*honourable women not a few*," with whom this country abounds, and who are ever ready to share the missionary's labours here, in hopes of the glory that is to be revealed:—women these who probably would have been in the number of those recorded in the Acts of the Apostles—*τὰς σεβόμενας γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς εὐσχήμονας*. We do not mean to say that the book is to be judged by syllables, for there are many expressions in it (e. g. such as that of *setting up an Ebenezer*,* and others) which evidently belong to a certain school, and which remind us of the old *puritanical diction*, on which many are fast verging. Again, there are some *points of doctrine*, or rather, some *Scriptural doctrines, carried beyond their proper bounds*, which, as Churchmen, we are unable to approve of, but which are likely enough to be found amongst those who are called the Independent Missionaries, as they are amongst all the Dissenters, and amongst all those who are an *unordained ministry*. But upon these points we are not called upon to animadvert, and they are mentioned only by way of caution. When we say, therefore, that the Memoir is not to be judged by syllables, and when we assert it as our opinion that it is written in what has been

the reference. We are not sorry to confess that it was first mentioned to the writer in a foreign land.

* Our readers will recollect that it is adopted from that passage in the First Book of Samuel which relates the discomfiture of the Philistines at Ebenezer, on that day when the Lord thundered with a great thunder upon them. "*Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*"—vii. 12.

As some may be in doubt on the matter, we may add that the expression in p. 5, "*admitted a member of the Church*," is a common one amongst the Dissenters for "*being admitted to the Communion*." So true is the saying of Jeremy Taylor, that "*the indiscretions of religion swell to vanity, when we think they grow towards perfection.*"

called *the morbid style*, we trust we shall not be misunderstood. On the whole, we are much obliged to Mr. Stallybrass for what scattered information the book contains.

It will be our object now just to give our readers an insight into this distant Mission, under the direction of the London Missionary Society,—to show them on what distant spot it is situated, what difficulties it has had to contend with, and how much it is needed that the work of the Lord should prosper in its hands. But the Word has travelled far, and so has that Name, which is above all names. To use the words of the Bæotian bard,

“ Πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τεχθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τηλόθεν γ' ὄνομ' αὐ-
τῷ.”

And here the Memoir may speak for itself.

“ In the year 1816, the attention of the Directors of the London Missionary Society was directed to the Mongol-Tartars, who inhabit the extensive country on either side of the Lake Baikal, in consequence of the representations of the Rev. Messrs. Paterson, Pinkerton, and Henderson, who were zealously and actively employed in promoting the objects of the Bible Society in Russia.”—p. 26.

Many of our readers will probably be well acquainted with Mr. Henderson's “ Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia,” which, as well as his “ Iceland,” contains a vast deal of information. The result of his journey was the book alluded to, and, we may add, the appointment of the Siberian Mission now before us. The person appointed to this post was the compiler of the Memoir which we are considering—then a student at the old College, Homerton, under the auspices of the Society; and he was to proceed to his *labour of love* “ in conjunction with a companion, or companions, afterwards to be nominated.” Within nine months after his appointment he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah Robinson, the daughter of Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Sarah Robinson, of Stepney; the time for his departure was fixed, but again changed, and finally decided on for Friday, (Good Friday,) May 16, 1817, when Mr. and Mrs. Stallybrass “ left London, in the Gravesend packet boat, to join the vessel Oscar, which was destined to bear them to St. Petersburg.” On the 2d of June they arrived at Elsinour, and were hospitably received at the house of T. Ellah, Esq., an English merchant—an occurrence which we mention because Mr. Stallybrass has since married for his second * wife, Charlotte Ellah, one of the daughters of the late

* If any should wonder at a second marriage after the loss of one so valued as the late Mrs. Stallybrass, we would refer them to what Jeremy Taylor says on this subject, vol. vi. pp. 461, 462; and we would add, that we know personally how he is “ strictly performing the will of the dead,” by providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating the children.

Mr. T. Ellah—a woman, as we think from personal knowledge, of all others fitted to be the wife of a missionary,—ready to spend and to be spent,—blessed with a spirit of cheerfulness and natural vivacity which (under God's blessing) will help her over many a difficulty, making her a solace to her husband in his manifold cares; whilst at the same time the spirit of devotional piety, which is as a robe and a garland to her, will, if tempered with discretion and godly sincerity, prove an infinite blessing to the benighted heathens around her. Hers it was to know, (in the *better* words of Madame de Staël,) that “*toutes les qualités de ce monde disparaissent à côté des vertus vraiment religieuses;*” and so she has left the land of her birth, parent, kinsfolk and acquaintance,—sisters whom she loved as her own heart's blood,—friends who were as her own soul,—the “Sabbath bell's* harmonious chime—the heavenliest of all sounds, that hill or vale prolongs or multiplies,”—all these she has left, and is now on the Lake Baikal, and in the midst of the Buriats, where, for the Christian's worship, she is surrounded with abominable idolatry, and the heathenish rites of the Dalai-Lama.†

But we left them at Helsingör, (or, as it is commonly written, Elsinore): from thence they departed for St. Petersburg, where they arrived on the 10th of June, and remained there till the 2d of January, 1818, “as well to await the arrival of companions in their contemplated journey, as to acquire some knowledge of the Russian language, and to obtain the patronage of the authorities here to their mission.” On the evening of the 2d they departed on their long journey to Irkutsk, and here we cannot avoid transcribing the following favourable testimony to the benevolent intentions of the Emperor Alexander:—

“Through the singular and almost unprecedented favour of the late excellent Emperor Alexander, who manifested great interest in this mission to a tribe of his heathen subjects, all that could possibly tend to

* Wordsworth. Cowper's lines are equally beautiful.

“How soft the music of those village bells,
Falling at intervals upon the ear
In cadence sweet, now dying all away,
Now pealing loud again, and louder still,
Clear and sonorous, as the gale comes on!
With easy force it opens all the cells
Where memory slept!”—*Task*, b. vi.

† We have now no space to enter into any account of these idolatries. The following is from Levesque's “*Histoire de Russie, et des Principales Nations de l'Empire Russe.*” “La religion des Kalmouks est le Lamisme, ainsi nommé parce que les principaux membres du clergé s'appellent *lumas*. Le mot *dalai*, qui signifie la mer, et qu'on emploie aussi pour marquer une grande étendue, étant joint à celui de *lame*, forme le titre du premier pontife de cette religion, et signifie prêtre ou pontife universel.”—vol. viii. p. 129, ed. 1812, Paris. See the whole of Chapitre xviii. “Du Lamisme.” Also the “*Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica*,” c. iii. § 3, p. 133, Helmstadii.

facilitate their (i. e. the missionaries') journey was effected. Letters were written to the governors of provinces through which they had to pass, and to the directors and masters of the post, under whose jurisdiction horses for travelling are placed in Russia; and a post-courier was ordered to accompany them, in order to render every assistance and prevent delay."

Those who have been used to travel in northern countries will duly appreciate this mark of attention. In Sweden nothing can surpass the regularity of the *Förbud*, or the attention paid to the *Förbuds-sedel*.

The journey of the missionaries to Irkutsk, where they first purposed to settle, was performed in less than three months, and they arrived there on the 26th of March, having travelled upwards of 6000 versts.* The incidents of the journey we have little space to dilate on. We, however, have noted the following:

"A Tartar burying-ground lately pleased me much. It was at the distance of about a verst and a half from the village, in a beautiful spot, remote from public view. A little simple mound of earth, with a perpendicular pillar of wood, and here and there a birch-tree, was all that bespoke it to be the resting-place of the dead. With the exception of a cross instead of a pillar, there is scarcely any difference in their simplicity between this and a Russian church-yard."

However tame the concluding remark may be, it is most true:—

"*They form a great contrast to an English burying-place.*"—p. 104.

There is something so simple in the account which follows that we give it at length.

"Dined at Achinsk,† a very considerable village on the banks of the Chalin. Here we met, for the first time, travellers from Irkutsk, consisting of a large family, who occupied three kibitkas, the neatest we have seen on the road. After dinner I rambled into the church-yard, with the courier as my attendant, while Mr. Stallybrass was engaged in looking to our kibitka, which wanted repair. On drawing near the portal of the consecrated edifice, the courier persuaded me to go in, and led me forward through the outer porch, where stood a number of worshippers, into the inner temple. While making some observations on the splendour of the ornaments, &c., the priest entered, and bowing gracefully, inquired whence I came, and whether I spoke the Russian language. To the latter I replied that I spoke very little, but that my husband, who was at the neighbouring inn, spoke it. He said he should much like to see my companions, but having service to perform, respectfully withdrew. I hastened out of the church, returned to the inn, and

* The Russian verst is about three-quarters of an English mile. In page 80 (note) the verst is said to contain 3500 English feet.

† The reader who may possess "*Stieler's Hand Atlas*," with the Supplementary Maps, will be enabled to track the missionaries throughout. In the *Polar Karte* the Lake Baikal, together with the rivers running in and out of it, and the position of Selenginsk, are all accurately engraved.

persuaded my companions to gratify themselves as I had done. We all proceeded thither, and on entering the place where I had before seen the people, found they were all ranged in a circle round the corpse of an infant of twenty-two days old. The priest was standing in the centre, with a censer in his hand; and an under-priest, or clerk, at a desk, was repeating in a loud tone of voice, after the former, the burial service, to which the people responded at intervals, bowing down to the ground, and crossing themselves. The priest then repeatedly walked round the dead body, chanting a funeral dirge, and at the same time waving the censer, which contained a burning incense, over the corpse; after which he took from a bystander a shovel of earth, which he sprinkled on the body; and then, from a vase different from the former, he waved a perfume in the face of the mourners. At this instant the father of the child, kneeling down, and taking the tapers from the coffin, kissed the napkin which covered the head of the infant, and, the lid of the coffin being put on, all withdrew."—pp. 109, 110.

At first it was determined that Irkutsk should be the seat of the mission. "The town is pleasantly situated on the north east bank of the Angarà,* into which the small river Irkut—whence the town takes its name—empties itself." But here they remained little more than a year, and before they quitted it had to sorrow for the departure of their fellow missionary, Mr. Rahm, owing to the ill-health of his wife. The cause of the change of residence may be given in the words of the memoir.

"Very shortly after the departure of their friends, the remaining missionaries proceeded to act upon a plan which had been before formed, for removing the seat of the mission to a more favourable spot. It was soon found that the city of Irkutsk did not appear at all a favourable situation for carrying into effect the designs of the society. As the Buriats do not reside in the Russian towns—except a few for the sake of employment—but, on account of their flocks and herds, dwell in the wilderness,—the missionaries found themselves cut off from all intercourse with them. And, although the year, spent in this retired way, was by no means lost, as it gave them the desired opportunities for studying the language, yet a situation in the midst of the people, in which they would be brought into immediate contact with them, seemed absolutely necessary in order to attempt imparting to them the knowledge of God and eternal life. In addition to this, the circumstances of the Buriats near Irkutsk, did not offer so many facilities for the *commencement*, at least, of a mission, as another tribe did. They had no books,

* For the account of this river, see Malte Brun. In his *Traité Élémentaire*, he says, "à sortie du lac Baïkal, cette rivière est tellement resserrée entre les rochers, que les plus petits bateaux ne peuvent y passer qu'avec précaution,"—and yet it is "généralement 600 à 1200 toises de largeur," tom. ii. p. 94. Ed. 1831. Captain Cochrane, in his *Narrative of a Pedestrian Journey through Russia and Siberian Tartary*, says, "its banks present some pleasing views, and numerous populous villages are scattered on either side," vol. ii. p. 124. What this traveller says of the Angarà on its flowing out of the lake is hardly to be reconciled with the account of Malte Brun.

and spoke a very corrupted dialect of the Mongolian language. The missionaries were already furnished with gospels and tracts, printed at St. Petersburg, for distribution: but here, of course, there were none to whom they could be useful. Whereas a considerable proportion of the Buriats on the south-east side of the lake Baikal have books, are able to read, and use a much purer dialect. With the view to a removal thither, Messrs. Rahm and Stallybrass had taken a journey in the preceding year, and had nearly fixed upon a spot for the site of the mission,—the spot upon which the mission houses were afterwards built. It is in the vicinity of Selenginsk, formerly a town of some importance, but now sunk into a state of insignificance.* Thither Mr. and Mrs. Stallybrass directed their course; and leaving Irkutsk on the 5th of July, and crossing the lake in a trading vessel, they arrived, with their effects, safely on the 16th.”—pp. 133, 134.

The site of the mission, then, is to the east of the lake Baikal, and the subjects of the mission are the Buriats. Of the lake, which is in that part of Siberian Tartary which is comprised within the province of Irkutsk, the Tartars may well be proud, and Captain Cochrane says, that “the approach to the unfathomable Baikal lake may be considered one of the grandest sights in the world.” In such estimation do the Tartars hold it, that they call it the Holy, and the Charmed Sea. But we must content our readers with the account following from Malte Brun, who, in speaking of the lakes of Siberia, says,

“Le plus important de tous est le lac Baikal; son nom signifie en langue iakoute *mer riche*. Les Bouriates l'appellent *Dalai*, et les Toun-gouses, *Lam*, c'est à dire mer. Son étendue excuse l'inexactitude de cette denomination: il a 150 lieues de longueur, 15 à 25 de largeur, et 468 de circonférence. Il est alimenté par un grand nombre de petites rivières qui descendent des montagnes qui l'entourent. Sa masse d'eau présente plusieurs phénomènes jusqu'à présent inexplicables; souvent on remarque à sa surface une violente agitation qui n'est occasionnée par aucune cause sensible; quelquefois le moindre vent suffit pour la soulever, tandis qu'elle reste calme pendant les plus grandes tempêtes. Ses eaux sont douces, légères et limpides: on y peut distinguer les plus petits objets à une profondeur de 30 à 40 pieds.”—*Traité Élémentaire*, vol. ii. p. 95.

Thus much for the lake. The people to be converted (when it shall please God to say, *Let there be light*,)—the Buriats that is,—occupy the whole of the mountainous region to the east of it, and, for the most part, are sunk in the grossest idolatry. They say of themselves that they formed originally one of the Kalmuck

* Verchney Udinsk has risen upon the ruins of Selenginsk, about seventy miles apart from it, according to Captain Cochrane.

† This would appear similar to what is called the “Bottom Wind” in Keswick Lake or the Derwent Water. Captain Cochrane simply remarks, “The winds are most violent, and subject to instant changes, resembling hurricanes. The sea is said to run mountains high.”—vol. ii. p. 125. What he has noted after this seems incredible. Indeed it is a strange book altogether!

tribes, and are therefore Mongolian, which their language agrees to.* The account given by Levesque, is, "Ils vinnent, au temps de Tchingis-Khan, chercher un asile dans les pays montueux qui se trouvent au nord du Baikal;" . . . and shortly after, "Ils errent sur les côtes du Baikal, sur les bords de l'Angara et de la Léna, et ils s'étendent du levant au couchant depuis l'Ostrog d'Oudinsk jusqu'à la ville de Nertchinsk." Their population, (according to Malte Brun,) is estimated at 80,000† souls.

Such is the spot, and such the people to whom these missionaries were sent forth. And he who shall consider how (to use the words of Jeremy Taylor,) "weak man knows first by elements, and after long study learns a syllable, and in good time gets a word," will easily see the difficulties they had first of all to contend with in learning the Russian, the Mongolian, and the Mantshur languages, that so they might speak in "a tongue understood by the people." Even Captain Cochrane, whose remarks on the mission were invidious and uncharitable,‡ though he was received with open hands, is obliged to do them justice on this point. His words are,—

"While learning the Mongolian language, they have also become acquainted with the Mantshur, owing to the circumstance of there being no dictionary of the Mongolian, except with that of the Mantshur. Thus the missionaries had to learn the Russian, Mantshur, and Mongolian languages at the same time, and to form their own dictionaries and grammars, which have the advantage of alphabetical arrangement over those in former use, in which the words were only classed under their different subjects. They now speak and read the Mongolian with facility."

What he says on the subject of missions is just what all those are apt to say, who think the work is of man, and not of God. But he is no more, and we would therefore say as little on the subject as possible. For the mission's sake we extract part of the note of Mr. Stallybrass on the subject: "His book survives; and for its sake I observe, that there is scarcely a sentence, respecting the mission, but what abounds with either error or misrepresentation."—p. 219, note.

As concerns the mission itself and its success since the time

* See a German Work by Isaac Jacob Smidt, entitled "*Forschungen im Gebiete der ältern Religiösen, Politischen und Literarischen Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibeter.*" We much fear the labours of the lamented Professor Rask, of Copenhagen, on the Caucasian dialects, were not in a sufficient state of forwardness at his death to be published.

† See Levesque's *Histoire*, ut *suprà*, vol. viii. pp. 167—176.

‡ See vol. ii. pp. 130—132. He should have remembered that, —*τράπεζα μὲν ἱερὸν χεῖμα*,—and have thought with the German bard,

"Des schönen Lorbeers frisch gebrochen Zweig
Sind wir bereit, mit unsern Freund zu theilen."

Captain Cochrane was there,—which was just at its onset,—we are sorry we are not enabled to give further particulars than such as are derived from the memoir before us, and from a private letter which has not long ago come to hand.* From the both of these, and from the return of Mr. Stallybrass to the scene of his former labours at the close of 1835, we have a good hope that the Bible has not been translated into Mongolian in vain. For this it is well that the missionaries kept together at the first, and did not relinquish, neither give up what the traveller was pleased to call “their too comfortable a berth.” It was not for nothing that the seventy were sent out *two by two*, and the preacher saith not in vain; *Two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labour. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth; for he hath not another to help him up.*† Yes! we have a good hope that the Scriptures are not put into the hands of the Buriats for nothing,—and even if they *did* (as the traveller reports,) bring their “religious books, thirty waggon loads, from Thibet, at an expense of twelve thousand head of cattle,”—yet *now* there may be that leaven amongst them which shall leaven the whole lump, and their images which *must needs be borne, because they cannot go*,‡ may be ready to fall like Dagon before the Ark. And if it be not so,—still a thousand years is with the Lord as one day, and the seed sown will not be lost. So that the missionary may rejoice to say in the face of evil report and of good report.

“D'un cœur qui t'aime
 Mon Dieu, qui peut troubler la paix?
 Il cherche en tout la volonté suprême,
 Et ne se cherche jamais.
 Sur la terre, dans le ciel même,
 Est-il d'autre honneur que la tranquille paix
 D'un cœur qui t'aime?”§

The missionaries who afterwards joined them were Messrs. Swan and Guille, the former of whom drew up the sketch of Mrs. Stallybrass' character which will be found at the end of the memoir. It will be seen from the memoir itself how much pains she took to instruct the Buriat children,|| and though, owing to

* We have waited three weeks for a set of the London Missionary Reports from the year 1821 to 1836,—but unluckily we were unable to procure them complete. Had they arrived we should have given a brief statement of the growth and progress of the mission.

† Ecclesiastes, iv. 9, 10.

‡ Jer. x. 5.

§ Racine, *Athalie*, act iii. sc. viii.

|| Tillotson says well, that “childhood and youth are choice seasons for planting of religion and virtue, and if parents and teachers sleep in this seed-time, they are ill-husbandmen; for this is the time of ploughing and sowing.”—vol. iv. p. 529.

their indifference, as well as to their scattered state and migratory habits of life, her little school never exceeded ten or twelve at a time," we may yet hope that her instructions have not fallen on a rock which shall yield no produce. To her school she devoted herself till they left Selenginsk in 1828, and for the purpose of extending the mission, settled themselves on the river Khodon; about 200 miles to the north-east of the former town,—where Messrs. Swan and Guille now remained to pursue the work they had in hand. At Khodon she was the faithful helpmate of her husband in his missionary labours for more than four years—till February, 1833—on the 11th of which month, exhausted by incessant toil, "she breathed out her soul into the hands of Him, to whom she had dedicated her life and her all."

Such is the substance of the memoir before us, and the fruits of the mission, we doubt not, will some time or other be perceived. We would now note down one or two passages which we have marked for extraction.

"July 2nd. A visit to-day from the principal Lama in this neighbourhood, in return for one paid him by Mr. Stallybrass yesterday. It is observable how much influence such men seem to command over the lower orders of the priesthood, as well as laity—not excepting little children. It was affecting to see with what order a little boy, four years of age, came in, bowed three times to the ground before the Lama, and then approached to receive his blessing. In this respect a great Lama is placed on a level with the Supreme Being, or, according to their ideas—*beings*."—p. 160.

The account which follows of a feast amongst the Buriats cannot fail to interest, though the interest be accompanied with painful sensations. If *one sentence* appear to court attention, it must be recollected that the whole is an extract from a private journal, never, most probably, intended so see the light.

"17th. On one of the distant hills a feast has been held to-day. Having never witnessed these annual amusements, I felt a desire to go, which Mr. Stallybrass gratified. The road soon became known to us by the company, who were all mounted on horseback. The women were richly dressed, and their horses handsomely caparisoned. They would not be distinguished from men at a little distance (as they ride astride, and wear broad hats like the men,) but for their costly beads, of which an immense number are suspended in long rows from a *tiara* worn on the head; these, together with the hair, which is plaited on each side, reach to the elbows. The saddle cloths, &c. of their horses are mounted with ornaments of metal and small shells in a very tasty manner, and when several are in company together, make a great noise like a number of little bells. From this scene of gaiety my thoughts reverted to that day, when 'there shall be upon the bells of the horses, holiness unto the Lord.' With these cheerful travellers we joined com-

pany, till we arrived at the spot appropriated to the opening of the feast. On a hill, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, a sort of booth is formed of trees, called by the Buriats, Oboga, or Obo,* and in front a large circle of Lamas seated themselves upon their mats, leaving a space in front for the offerings to the gods. These consist of flesh, corn, &c. The head Lama, dressed in costly array, seated first in the circle, began the service, giving signals by a little sceptre which he held in his hand, and by various motions of his fingers. These were observed by the others, who stood in the centre, scattering, by a dexterous motion of the fingers, these different offerings: while the whole circle, consisting of about fifty other Lamas, were reading prayers in the Thebitan language, wholly unintelligible to the common people, and nearly so to the Lamas themselves. Around this group were seated all the spectators, the men taking the right, and the women the left side, no one taking his seat till he has been in the circle to obtain a blessing from the chief Lama. Before the service closed, some water, esteemed holy, was handed round to the company, each one receiving a little in his hand, and drinking it. The last part of the ceremony was shooting with bows and arrows, and a gun, into the air; and this was explained to us as expressive of the desire that all their enemies might be kept far from them.† All now remounted their horses, descended the hill, and rode to the opposite side of the extensive plain below. There they again dismounted, seated themselves in ranks on the grass, and commenced their feasting, of which boiled mutton and asiki‡ form the principal materials. Horse racing and wrestling closed the festival.”—p. 162—164.

In conversing with a Geloon on the subject of transmigration, and on Mr. Stallybrass's asking him how these things could be?

“He appeared to be ashamed to avow, as many more ignorant do, that transmigration can exist; and when asked if he thought the doctrine admissible, why an infant, as the Dalia Lama had frequently *seen* (quære *been*,) did not immediately exercise the understanding of an adult: he replied, it was possible for him to do it at *seven* years of age. Like many others, when pressed for a defence of this system, he urged that our religion was good enough for us, and they were satisfied with theirs.”

In the same page there is made mention of a *prayer machine*, —an instrument somewhat like a small mill, such as is used in gardens to frighten birds, round the barrel of which a prayer is

* “Signifying a heap; and this is a heap of branches of trees, which is augmented every year.”—Note. Φρυγάνων φάκελοι συνενίαται, says Herodotus of the *quasi-temple* of Mars amongst the Scythians, lib. iv. 42. Levesque says “Les Bouriates, au lieu de temples, ont des kéréments comme les peuples de race fennique. Ils donnent à ces lieux sacrés le nom de Tailga.”—vol. viii. p. 175.

† Thus the Scythians spoke enigmatically in their gifts to Darius.—Lib. iv. c. 131. ἑπεμνον κήρυκα, δῶρα Δαρείω φέροντα ὀρθά τε, καὶ μῦν, καὶ βάτραχον, καὶ ὕστουδς πέντε.

‡ Spirits distilled from milk. See p. 156. When Levesque speaks of “une tasse pleine de lait et d'eau de vie” at their “sacrifice solennel,” he probably alludes to the same.

rolled, and agitated by the wind,—“which placed on the top of the hill in front of the distant tents, spared the inhabitants the trouble of raising their voices—not to say their hearts—in prayer to God.” How many a Romanist,—how many a Protestant,—patters prayer no better than this machine ! In p. 203, the following melancholy instance of its use is recorded.

“An old man called a few days since, on his way to the temple, whither he was travelling sixty versts on foot, though not destitute of a horse, for the purpose of turning the *prayer machine* for a week, which he designed performing on his arrival, in order to atone for past misconduct and drunkenness. He pleaded hard that we should give him some spirituous liquor to drink. Mr. Stallybrass took an opportunity of showing him the absurdity of relying upon his own performances to atone for sin, when, for even a day, he had not strength to resist.”

It is most distressing to read of the continual and repeated cases of drunkenness which the memoir relates as abounding amongst all the Buriats.*

Levesque in his chapter on the *Religion des Bouriates*, has this remark, “Comme les Bouriates se sont séparés des Mongols et des Kalmouks avant que ceux-ci eussent embrassé la religion du Dalai Lama, ils ont continué de vivre dans le chamanisme.” To this we are glad to subjoin the following statement from the memoir before us. Mrs. Stallybrass is speaking of a cottage which has been purchased by Mr. Swan for the use of the mission.

“Its situation on the banks of the Ona, in a fertile plain, sheltered by the north-west hills, render it healthy and agreeable ; and accessible, as it is, by a large number of the Chorinsky Buriats, who, once wholly the dupes of Shamaism, are now gradually embracing the Dalai Lama system, seems to make it, in all respects, an eligible spot for Christian missionaries to plant the standard of the cross.”—p. 200.

With this extract we must conclude, and we have given thus many, because the existence of this mission is little known, and the *labour of love*, therefore, little appreciated. Much it has had to struggle with, and little hitherto has been the prospect of success,—but the hearts of people, as well as of kings, are in God’s rule and governance, and he disposes and turns them as it seemeth best to his godly wisdom,—therefore (though we cannot hope to see it,) we believe that the time will come when even the benighted Buriats will be fetched home to the Lord’s flock, and “saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made

* See a striking passage in Jeremy Taylor concerning the vices of rude and uncivilized nations as compared with the greater sins of polished and civilized ones. The latter, “distill wickedness as through a limbeck ;” the former, “make themselves drunk with the lees and cheaper instances of sin.”—vol. ii. p. 107.

one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord."* And so the missionary may rejoice to say with Habbakuk the Prophet; "*Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation. The Lord God is my strength, and he will make my feet like hinds' feet, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places.*"†

Of the next memoir at the head of this article we have only room to say a few words, and we have set it there only, because it is a fit companion to the one now noticed. Its faults of composition and peculiarity of diction are the same,—but these are nothing when we are called to think upon two such exemplary Christians as Mrs. Stallybrass and Mrs. Ellis. They were not of double heart—and though their sun has gone down while it was yet day,—blessed are the dead that die in the Lord!

Wohl dem, der frei von Schuld und Fehle
Bewahrt die kindlich reine Seele!

Suffice it to say of this exemplary woman that for nearly eight years she laboured with Mr. Ellis to spread the knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the South Sea Islands. The flesh, however, was weaker than the spirit, and she was obliged at last to seek again the home that she had left, for the love of God and man. Here she lingered for more than nine years, having never regained her former health, though at times the appearances were flattering. Let the memoir tell her death.

"It was near the hour of midnight, on the 11th of January, 1835, when, amidst the sobs and tears wrung from the hearts of those around, the watchman was heard pursuing his beat under the windows, and calling the hour (past eleven o'clock), but no one attempted to speak till her youngest daughter, in hurried and stifled accents, seeking relief from her own anguish of soul, exclaimed 'She's happy now.'"‡

The reason why we have given this brief notice only is, because we suppose there are few of our readers who have not seen the *Polynesian Researches*, and gathered from thence the interesting and deeply affecting accounts of the South Sea missions;—or at least we suppose there are few who have not read that masterly

* Third Collect for Good Friday.

† Habak. iii. 17—19.

‡ The following extract from p. 18 will remind our readers of Hooker's latter hours. It occurred at an earlier stage of her sickness, (Nov. 22, 1826.) "The greater part of the following day was passed in great pain. In the evening she said, 'I am greatly comforted by meditating on the ministry of angels;' repeating, as the ground of her belief in their presence, the last verse of the first chapter of Hebrews."

article (attributed to Mr. Southey) in the Quarterly for May, 1830, on the mission in the Georgian and Society Islands. Consequently there needed not that particularity of detail which we have given on the Siberian mission. As to the Polynesian Researches themselves they will well repay any one's perusal, and the account of Pomare the Second* is, perhaps, for interest, unrivalled in the whole of missionary documents. We conclude these notices by wishing that the several missionary societies, divided from the Church, were united to her. A wish, vain perhaps, but one, could it be verified, which would, under God's blessing, be of incalculable benefit. That all knew the practical truth contained in the Patriarch's charge, *See that ye fall not out by the way!*

We have now arrived at the last book named at the head of this article,—the Journal of the exemplary Archdeacon Wix, from February to August, 1835, kept during his missionary visitation along the southern and western shores of Newfoundland. This is a book which none can take up without being painfully and deeply moved,—and few there are who can know the missionaries' manifold toils. The only parallel instance to the present is that of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland and in Labrador,† of whom Cowper beautifully says,—

“ Fired with a zeal peculiar, they defy
The rage and rigour of a polar sky,
And plant successfully sweet Sharon's rose
On icy plains, and in eternal snows.”

Those who would have any idea of the labours of Archdeacon

* We have, by the way, in our possession a part of the xvth chapter of St. John's gospel, written with Pomare's own hand in his native tongue. Who will be bold enough to say that the labour of translating the Bible into distant and foreign tongues is labour in vain? Shame! that it ever should be said in a Christian land!

— “ What is man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? A beast, no more!
Sure, He, that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before, and after, gave us not,
That capability, and godlike reason,
To fast unused.”—HAMLET.

† See Crantz, History of Greenland, English Ed, 1820; or the German *Geschichte von neu Herrnhut*, Leipzig, 1765. This copy has the original plates, but the most curious ones are Hans Egedes, in *Det gamle Grönlands nye Perustration*, Kjöbenhavn, 1741, 4to.

“ Doch wär es eine Schande
Im kalten Lande
Von Jesu Liebes-Brande
Nicht mehr zu seh'n!”

Wix must read his book. How little do we imagine the cold and almost the nakedness he had to endure! How little can we picture to ourselves the frost, and the snow, and "the thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," which he had to pass through on his journey of glad tidings! How little do we know of sleeping in the woods and in the open air, where each "vagabond wind" is only tempered by His mercy who sendeth it out of his treasures! And when wearied by the length of the way,—lost, perhaps, more than once, and only found again by "observing the inclination of the topmost branches of the juniper or larch-trees" to the east—who would expect, when about to record the journal of his hardships, and his thankfulness withal, to find his ink frozen? And where should the missionary find paper to write on when his knapsack was restricted in weight to fourteen pounds? Alas! for record of human loss and gain,—“had it not been for some boxes of paper, which had been dispersed along the shore in different wrecks,”—this journal had not reached us, neither should we have known what we now know,—the missionary's joy to *fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh for his body's sake, which is the Church*, dispersed abroad in the bleak and cold regions of Newfoundland.

But we have no space to dwell more on generals; we will, therefore, briefly state the object of the publication before us, and then make such extracts as may inform, and excite those who have it in their power to contribute to the good work in which the Archdeacon is engaged.

In the close of the year 1833, ill health compelled Archdeacon Wix to visit England, and it was then his wish to have called the attention of the charitable and benevolent to the want of a second church at St. John's. It did not, however, at that time seem expedient to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts that this appeal should be made publicly and from the pulpit, lest, being a particular and specific one, "it might operate prejudicially against some grand appeal which that society at that time meditated making for its general objects." The Archdeacon, therefore, (like a faithful and true servant of his mother-church,) submitted to their judgment and was silent. Nevertheless, he returned to the seat of his labours, as might be supposed, with a heavy heart,—and the more so because he found the Lord's people led captive, as well by the spirit of dissent, as by the wiles of the Roman Catholic Church, which never lacks means, or spares pains, to accomplish her objects. Upon his return he found matters worse than he left them, and seeing the good man's cares, his wife (truly a *κυδνή*)

παράκοιτις, with a noble spirit) offered to be the bearer of this journal, and of the appeal which it contains,

“for aid” (to use the archdeacon’s own words) “in the erection of the new church, which, after having painfully witnessed the want of it for more than five years, I feel it at length my imperative duty to undertake, in faith, for the Protestants of St. John’s, who, to a greater number than 3000, are without any means whatever of assembling to worship God, after the manner of their fathers.”*

Two thousand pounds are needed for the accomplishment of the object,—and the publishers of this journal are authorized to receive subscriptions for it,—

“and most anxiously will the writer look for the next arrivals from Europe, which may announce to him the degree of success which has attended the present appeal.”—(p. 239.) “His primary object is, indeed, that of exciting the liberality of those who have the means of helping him in his attempt to afford this necessary church accommodation to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Communion in St. John’s. But he would wish, also, to excite a feeling of Christian sympathy for the entire population of the island, which is upwards of 70,000. He has recently visited several portions of it, which had never before been visited by any minister of any name. The same cannot be said of several other portions which he lately visited, only because, five years since, he had himself paid them, before, the first visit which they had ever received. Those who desire the spread of the Redeemer’s kingdom, and are anxious to hear the state of their less favoured brethren abroad, will, doubtless, have been interested in the report which has been submitted to their notice, of the religious state of a portion of the Christian family with which they were not previously acquainted, or but imperfectly acquainted.”—pp. 239, 240.

Having presented our readers with the object of this journal, we now subjoin a few extracts which will give some faint idea of what a Newfoundland missionary has to do, and to go through. The first will show the difficulties of communication between one spot and another.

“It may give some idea of the difficulty of communication in the winter, even in the neighbourhood of St. John’s, if I state here that gentlemen at Port de Grave had not seen a St. John’s newspaper for a month, when I arrived amongst them; and that, in Trinity Bay, I found that the sum of forty shillings had been on a late occasion demanded, and twenty-five shillings actually paid, for the casual conveyance of a single letter, overland, by one of the cross-country guides.”—p. 17.

“*Friday, 13.*—Went off on a bitter cold morning, in a bait-skiff, two hours’ sail to ‘Clatter’s Harbour,’ at the back of the Isle of Valen. The

* It will be seen by the Society’s Report, that they have contributed £100 towards the building of the church.

slob and swish ice becoming thicker, prevented our getting up the arm; walked, in consequence, to the head of the north-east passage, by thickly wooded 'gulshes,' three miles or more; thence across a neck of land to Chandler's Harbour, in Paradise Sound, about one mile; thence I went along the hills by the shore, towards the south-east bight, which I had hoped to reach by night. We got benighted, however; the moon became obscured, and as a drift came on, with a drizzling snow and rain, we made a night-fire. For feeding this we felled, in the course of the night, a sufficient quantity of spruce and birch to have made a most shady retreat in a space equal to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there we waited for the dawn. This is a more accurate account of such a night, than it would be to record that we had slept in the woods; for the traveller, lying on a few fir branches upon the snow, freezes on one side, while the blazing flame scorches him on the other. I did not, at this early period of my cruise, understand so well as I afterwards did, the plan of making a fire in the woods; and in my hurry to greet the welcome sight of a cheerful fire, by which I might break the fast which I had kept since seven in the morning, I had neglected the necessary preliminary of digging out a hole in the eight feet of snow which were on the ground. The immense fire which we kindled, for want of this precaution, continued to melt down the snow, lower and lower by degrees, till, before the dawn of morning, I was left to the action of the piercing winds, on the top of a bank of snow, the fire being in a hole much below my level, and only benefiting me by its smoke, which threatened to blind, as well as to stifle me."—p. 55—57.

Not having room for so long an extract, we must refer our readers to p. 195—198 for, perhaps, the greatest peril this excellent man underwent. Speaking of the previous cold, he says, "it was so intense as to make the trees to crack, in the silence of the night, as though struck with an axe; my watch, also, under the same influence, became of little use, a most serious inconvenience when traversing the country in a season when the days are so short, and a little miscalculation may occasion the traveller's being benighted before he is prepared."*

Having been put down at a place called Middle Point, Mr. Wix gives us another account of toils such as we are not apt to think of. The spot will be seen in the chart.

"*Wednesday, 13.*—Proceeded down the eastern shore. In several places I was up to my arms in the salt water, in getting round points of rock, which it was impossible to climb. In some places I had to leap from rock to rock, over such chasms as alarmed my dog, from my frequent falls—now upon the icy crag, and at another time upon the

* On another occasion, Archdeacon Wix says, "I myself have seen the fish as soon as they have been taken out of the water, turn up from the cold and die immediately, stiff frozen, and could not but pity the poor men who were subject to such exposure in rough weather."—p. 71. Shall we have no fellow feeling for the missionary, who, without having been inured to it, braves such cold for the Gospel's sake?

slimy beach rock, on which my seal-skin boots, saturated with wet, gave me a most insecure tread. I was several days afterwards unable to rest my elbow on a table, and was, in other respects, very stiff, and, what was a greater inconvenience than all, as it only admits of reparation in England, I ruined my watch from getting it wet in the salt water, which immediately rusted it. I had kept it, too, in a side pocket of my coat, above my waist. The snow was so deep in the wood, and the tangled brush of the forest so harassing, where I did succeed in climbing the cliffs, to avoid the deep water round any of the projecting points of rock, that I was frequently near fainting from fatigue. At length, however, I thank God, I reached a house at the isthmus. I was quite as glad to see it, I am convinced, as the crew of a vessel wrecked last year, near Red Island, to the westward, off the mouth of St. George's Bay, could have been when they reached it. It was a walk, indeed, in which it would have been a tempting of God to have engaged knowingly."—pp. 160, 161.

Such are one or two of the perils by land and water which the missionary had to undergo,—taken almost at random from the journal. With the like we might fill many pages,—but we would rather give our readers an insight into the joy with which the Archdeacon was almost every where received. This, however, is not an easy matter, as it is to be collected from every page. Never were the footsteps *shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace* more gladly welcomed in modern days! In one passage we hear an aged Churchman breaking forth, and saying, "It is bad enough now, Sir; but then (that is, when he first became a settler from Chard, in Somersetshire,) twelve months and twelve months would pass without our hearing a word of a book, or any talk about a church." This man lived within a reasonable distance of St. John's, and in a part of the island which is not *in darkness*. At another more distant place, in the house of one where the missionary had officiated, we hear the exclamation, "Ah! Sir; if any of us be sick or sore, there is no one near to visit us, or to care for our souls!" Again, as the good man was departing from a certain place, "a young woman, who had waded, with difficulty, through the deep snow, which had been falling all night, arrived, to request me to baptize her *infant child*, and to church herself." An aged woman also puts to shame the *lettered* † *ignorance* of many in our own land, by begging of the missionary some books, observing, "I am fond of church books; a neighbour of mine 'faults' the church catechism in his talk, Sir; but to my belief, though I am no scholar, there is not like to be a better." Aged woman! go on and prosper,—our prayer is put up for thee! We have a better hope of thy faith than of them who would do down with that Liturgy which has been the admiration of the wisest and best of men! In another place we hear of an old man from

Sturminster, in Dorset, dropping tears on a Sunday "to think of the church at home, which I thought too little of when I was there; and often I have felt, that I would have given the heart out of my body, Sir, to hear the Church prayers on the Lord's day." Reader! has the tear never started as thou hast read the cxxxvii. Psalm? Turn to it, and pray for a blessing on this aged man,—on the dispersion in Newfoundland! one of which many thousands told the missionary "with tears, that next to the death of her father, she had felt it the greatest calamity in her life, that, on removing at marriage to her present place of residence, she had not been permitted, so great was the scarcity of books in her native settlement, to take with her her prayer-book and some other works of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." Shame, shame upon you, ye that malign this national blessing by speech or in a newspaper! *Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king?*

But we have space for no more particulars. We conclude therefore with the following touching extract,—remarking, by the way, that the journal is replete with other observations besides those which relate to the labours of the missionary.*

"*Friday, 29.* The next morning early I parted with my worthy friend M. J. who was obliged to return, as he was in hourly expectation of a brig in the bay of Islands, direct from Jersey, in which the owners, who were his employers, wished him to proceed to the Labradore fishery. The superior demeanor of this person, compared with that of the people by whom he is surrounded, and his superior religious intelligence, were most gratifying. It may stimulate the exertions of those engaged in Sunday Schools, to know, that he attributes it himself to the attention which he received, when a cabin boy, from a worthy clergyman in England. He was a native of Newfoundland, and received as fair an education as his highly respectable parents could themselves give him in a little out-harbour. He went home, however, when young, and while waiting for the sailing of his vessel, he was seen at church regularly on Sundays, and weekly prayer days, in his sailor's clothes in the pew of some English relatives in the port: the clergyman on observing this, noticed him, and took pains to give him instruction in his Sunday School, and on other occasions. He is now able to assemble a congregation, or to read by a sick bed, and has taught several of his nephews and nieces, and other neighbours to read, and he has told me, that he knew he never could forget the kindness of that clergyman,—he trusted he should never forget the advice which he had given him. How many grateful testimonies of this nature has it been my happiness to have had mentioned to me at different times in the last nine years, by the settlers in these distant colonies! The parish boy, or giddy girl, the impression, or improvement of whose heart, the village pastor has thought hopeless, as he presented the

* There are numerous interesting remarks on natural history,—upon people and upon things, which cannot but make it an agreeable book even to a cursory reader.

case in his private addresses to the throne of grace, has returned in a foreign land some portion of the obligation under which the kindness of the pastor of their youth has laid them to the Church, by entertaining and introducing into their neighbourhood one of that missionary church's missionary clergy; and, as after the dismissal of the settlement from his more public ministrations, confidence has been encouraged, and reserve has been removed; tales have been told of the village school and of the catechising in the aisle of the church, and of the pastor's affectionate stroke upon the head of my host,—rugged and weather-beaten now,—but then a sleek curly-headed youth, and the reward-book, with the pastor's valued autograph, has been brought forth, and the clasped bible and the torn prayer-book, which he would not by any means part with, but would wish for another,—till—O! the missionary and the man of rugged features, have both become children! and on the thought of home, and of the church-yard stile, and the village spire, and the intervening sea! and the present sad, sad wilderness in which they are wandering, or wearing away life, far from the privileges of which such fondly recollected scenes remind them, they are both in tears, and both upon their knees praying for a blessing upon the dear church of their fathers, that God would keep it with His perpetual mercy, cleanse it and defend it with his continual pity, and, because it cannot continue in safety without His succour, preserve it for evermore by His help and goodness through JESUS CHRIST, our Lord!"—pp. 178—181.

ART. VI.—*The Theological Library. Vol. XIII.—The Life of Archbishop Laud.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. Professor in the East India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Rivingtons. 1836.

IN this volume Mr. Le Bas has added to those claims upon the gratitude of Churchmen, which he has successively made of late years, by stimulating at once and supplying the thirst for ecclesiastical history, ignorance of which may safely be accounted one of the most deplorable evils of this time. No one can judge of the exact measure of evil in a deficiency, who is not aware that there is any deficiency at all. Those, then, who know nothing whatever of the history of Christianity in past times, whose insight into the course of Providence for 1800 years is confined to some slight acquaintance with chronology, or with the names of such sects and parties as prevail *de facto* in this day, will remain contented with the present platform of things, and will take every event in the ecclesiastical world as it comes, without capacity or anxiety to form any definite judgment about it. To them one opinion about existing matters is as good as another, and none good for much, except it be to afford subject for conversation, or lead to this or that immediate secular result. Ecclesiastical changes or movements are regarded merely as they affect local or personal interests or political parties. But let a man know ever so little of the his-

tory of former times, and he will at once discern, if he has any portion of a serious and thoughtful mind, that he is under a course or dispensation of things, as truly though not as visibly divine, as the Jewish; that no event which happens to the Church stands by itself, but arises from the past, influences the future, and bears upon the eternal destinies of thousands upon thousands. Under these circumstances the real condition both of himself and of his generation is brought home to him; he and they are like travellers on a desert without sun or landmark, chart or compass; they do not know how they came there, or whither they are tending, so that every step is fearful lest it should be in the wrong direction. For instance, at present we are evidently working out principles and events of three centuries old, elements of good and evil, which have to be sifted, separated, repressed, fostered, as the case may be, and have employed in this very work our great Divines and Churchmen ever since. Popery and Puritanism are still alive and struggling for the ascendancy, and must be resisted by the same measures, or at least on the same principles, on which Whitgift or Hooker resisted them in their day; and, if we do not know their faces when we fall in with them, and are surprised and overreached in consequence, it will assuredly not be for want of opportunities of information, if we would employ them.

A curious and almost incredible instance of this exceeding ignorance as regards *facts*, is afforded by certain strange and not unfrequent mistakes in our treatment of standard authors, viz. in citing, as their own, not their own text, but the positions which they have undertaken to refute, and building an argument thence as if on the vantage-ground of their authority. It has been confessed by the representatives of the late respected Mr. Scott, of Aston Sandford, that for years and years his "Force of Truth" contained as Hooker's a passage of Cartwright's which Hooker had undertaken to refute; and another modern writer might be named who is open to the charge of having, in all innocence, taken a similar liberty with the same great divine. Again, it is said that the popular duodecimo editions of Pascal's *Thoughts* contain passages which he had quoted, we believe from some French author, for the sake of refuting. Now it is no great crime to mistake Bull for Pearson, or Cave for Bingham, or Basil for Chrysostom, but to mistake Augustine for Pelagius, or Hooker for Cartwright, certainly does require an explanation, and total and self-satisfied ignorance is the kindest explanation we can suggest. Writers now-a-days open the volumes of our old divinity, not to know their contents or gain instruction from them, but to see if there be any thing there which will tell in favour of their own views. They turn over the pages, and, if any passage strike them as apposite,

down it goes in their note-book, and is forthwith published without any solicitude about its why or whereabout, its history, its parentage, its occasion, or its context.

Mistakes about the Middle Ages afford another pregnant evidence both of our ignorance of history and of our resignation under it. A Turkish Minister, on the news of a battle between Russians and Persians, is said to have asked his informant, "what it was to the Sublime Porte whether the dog beat the hog or the hog the dog?" And like his is the indolent superciliousness with which a pseudo-protestantism regards the dealings of God with his Church through a whole decade of centuries. Were it not that we cannot help dating our letters 1836, it might be suspected that we thought Christianity a few hundred years old, or that, like the Persian monarch, by dipping our head into water and lifting it out again, we had annihilated long periods which once had an existence. Or, as the other alternative, we seem to deny, that the Gospel had ever really a beginning, or Christianity founders; as if it had existed as an opinion, or rather as a hundred discordant opinions, from time immemorial, derived from a volume written in English, and set up in types, and sold in Earl Street, Blackfriars, from time immemorial. The fact that it has existed and been dispensed in divers times and places is above the reach of our present religionists. Certainly they would feel indignant at being confused with their ancestors of four centuries since, nay with the witch-finders and astrologists of a more recent date; yet they feel no conscience at throwing together in one the eras, persons, and exploits of more extended and not less eventful periods. The respective characteristics of this or that series of Popes, the varying relations of Church and State in this or that country, the differences of ecclesiastical policy between an Henry and an Edward, are subjects quite beyond the range of their sensibilities; and they are satisfied that Popery being one and the same in all times, what happened in one century may be fairly fastened in condemnation upon the character of the next.

Another serious indication and result of the same ignorance is the flippancy with which even religious writers speak of the established forms of orthodoxy, and the labours of the early Fathers to whom we owe their public adoption. Every word in the Creeds is the issue of a long history of controversy and trouble; and till we know that history, we cannot possibly know the value of such expressions, nor the expediency or lawfulness of altering or dispensing with them. Every error, now produced, is the same or all but the same as former errors; and though the fact that an opinion has been anticipated long since, is no argument to its present upholders that it is an error, yet it is a reason

why they should not be so very well pleased with themselves, and so very confident that they have wherewith to demolish received doctrines. Every rite and ceremony is expressive, with more or less accuracy, of one certain character of mind, in distinction to others. The times of which Mr. Le Bas treats in the present volume furnish abundant illustrations of this last remark. What could apparently be so futile as a contest about a vestment or a posture, on which continually the controversy turned with the Puritans? But in fact, as that contest when viewed in the history shows, such differences were but the external indications of ecclesiastical views radically distinct from one another.

But it is time to turn to the consideration of Mr. Le Bas' present volume. The author seems to feel the delicacy and difficulty of portraying a character which at this day labours under the odium and unpopularity attaching to Archbishop Laud; but we feel no apprehension, whatever anxiety the work has cost him, that it will be not repaid with a more than counterbalancing success. Not a step, indeed, can be taken in the account of this great Prelate's life, but some or other charge has to be refuted, or mistake rectified; and the difficulty of course is very considerable, to do what mere justice requires, and yet to avoid the appearance of being a mere partizan or panegyrist, instead of an historian. Yet we feel confident that Mr. Le Bas has so conducted his narrative as to secure its extensive popularity even in this anti-Laudian age, and that many will be the family and the solitary student whom he will disabuse of those prejudices which education has engendered.

However, the chief and truly characteristic point of view in which he represents the Archbishop is one of which perhaps he is hardly himself aware, viz. that of a Reformer. In good truth, Laud in all respects merited that now popular title, and seems to have had the virtues and defects which are commonly supposed to attach to it. We do not for an instant intend to *limit* his character to such a view of it; but we speak of its external development, and with reference to the active functions which he was specially allotted. Nor, again, must it be supposed that he was a Reformer on any principles or no principles, according to the fashion of this day, but upon definite and fixed principles, those ancient and Catholic lines of truth and sanctity which Apostles laid down once for all, and on which the Scriptures are based. Still, whatever his real inward qualities of mind, which were great, generous, and bold, philosophical and devotional, and whatever the strength and truth of the principles on which he governed the Church whose interests were committed to him, after all he was, all through his life, and is conspicuous in history as being, a Re-

former, amid as unchristian abuses, and with as tough a struggle, and with as hard an issue, and as true claim to the praise of Martyrdom, as the worthies of the preceding century.

His early years at Oxford were devoted to a noble and almost chivalrous effort (as it appeared) to reclaim the University from Calvinism to the pure and primitive faith which was unjustly stigmatized at the time as Popery. And in thus resisting the "traditions of men," and appealing to "the Law and the Testimony," he incurred in full measure the enmity of those who, without having the grosser vices, had all the conceit and affectation, the formality, narrowness, and obstinacy of the Pharisees. Yet he threw himself into the contest with a high-minded spirit, and showed no signs of wincing, in spite of the false and cruel suspicions to which he was in consequence exposed. Mr. Le Bas' interesting and picturesque narrative will afford us some specimens of this contest.

"When Laud commenced his academic residence, Oxford bore a greater resemblance, in many respects, to a colony from Geneva, than to a seminary of Anglo-Catholic Divinity. The genius of Calvin presided in the schools. The dark theory of predestination was maintained as an essential ingredient in the faith of a Christian man. The Apostolic succession of Bishops was treated as little better than a fable. The authority of the Church was scornfully disregarded. The very existence of a visible Church during the long period of Papal predominance, was gravely questioned by some distinguished divines, while others maintained that it was to be sought for only in the scattered Conventicles of Berengarians, or among the Albigenses, or the mountaineers of Piedmont, or perhaps, among the Wiclifites of England, or the Hussites of Bohemia. In short, the whole life and virtue of religion appeared to be well nigh concentrated into one thing,—an abrupt and impetuous departure from the Church of Rome.

"Now the theological studies of Laud had taught him a very different lesson. They had been prosecuted in the spirit of the Canon of 1571; which enjoined that the interpretation of Scripture should be regulated, not by a licentious exercise of private judgment, but by a strict regard to the doctrines which had been collected from Scripture, by the primitive fathers of the Church. It was remarked by Dr. Young, by whom Laud had been ordained, that his studies had not been confined to the narrow and partial systems of Geneva; but that his scheme of divinity had been raised 'upon the noble foundations of the Fathers, the Councils, and the Ecclesiastical Historians.' And, hence, he pronounced that, if the young man's life should be spared, he would become a fit instrument for the Church's deliverance from the trammels of every modern school, and for her restoration to the more free and comprehensive principles of the first and purest ages. The whole plan and elevation of doctrine which this course of inquiry had set before him, he found to be in strict conformity with the original scheme of the Anglican

Reformation ; but, in many essential respects, at mortal variance with the theory and the practice which then had got possession of the schools. And he was seized with a vehement desire to bring the Church of England from this state of defection, back to her native principles.

"It was not long before an opportunity was afforded for the manifestation of his *zeal*, his *forwardness*, and his *confidence*, in the cause of pure and primitive Christianity. Such was the estimation in which he was held, as a scholar and a divine, that, in 1602, he was admitted to read the Lecture of Mrs. May's foundation, with the full consent and approbation of his College. And it was either in this, or some other academical exercise performed about the same time, that he resolved to stand forward in vindication of the Articles and Constitution of the Church. The adventure was one which, in times like those, demanded an intrepid resolution. But Laud had, doubtless, counted the cost of his warfare : and he, accordingly, maintained, in opposition to the predominant theology of the day, 'the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and South, until the Reformation.' By this exploit he marked himself out as an object of hatred to the Puritans, and, more especially to their patron and champion Dr. George Abbot, Master of University College, Dean of Winchester ; and, in 1603, Vice Chancellor of the University. This divine (who was afterwards elevated to the Primacy of all England) was the foremost man among those who affirmed that it was impossible to discern the visibility of the Church, otherwise than by tracing it, through a straggling series of sects, from the days of Berengarius to those of Luther and of Calvin. These opinions he did not embody in writing till the year 1624 ; but they were notoriously entertained, and urgently contended for by him, at the time when the contrary position was taken up by Laud. There is too much reason to believe that Abbot never forgave this act of open resistance to the authority of his name. And it is most certain that, from that moment to the end of his days, Laud was detested and pursued by the party of Abbot, as a confederate of Popery, and a sworn enemy to the Gospel of Christ."—p. 5—8.

At the time of this first protest against the errors of his day, he was about 30 years old, an age which seems marked out by nature as that when the principles are at length finally settled, and the silent meditation and study of former years begin to display themselves for the good of the destined objects of their influence. Shortly after we find him engaged in a similar controversy.

"In July, 1604, he became Bachelor of Divinity. From the propositions which he undertook to defend, in his exercises for that degree, it is evident that his spirit was wholly undaunted by the resentment which his first theological essay had so recently called forth. He maintained, first, the necessity of Baptism ; and, secondly, that there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops. Two subjects more distasteful to the Puritans could not easily have been selected. They did not suffer the occasion to pass without reminding Laud that their eye was constantly

upon him. His arguments for the necessity of Baptism were treated with contempt, on the ground that they were borrowed from the writings of Bellarmine; as if all reasoning *must* inevitably be vicious, which had been resorted to by a Papist. For his vindication of Episcopacy, he was severely assailed by Dr. Holland, Rector of Exeter College, who had succeeded Laurence Humphrey in the divinity chair. The mantle of his predecessor, as well as his office, appears to have fallen upon Holland; for he now complained loudly that the disputant was casting the torch of discord between the Church of England and the Reformed Churches beyond the seas. The result was a general conviction that Laud was becoming, every day, more thoroughly steeped in Romish superstition."—pp. 9, 10.

In consequence a violent effort was made by the ascendant party to preclude him from the headship of his College, (St. John's,) to which, on a vacancy in 1610, his merits justified his aspiring. Abbot, his inveterate enemy, being at this time Archbishop of Canterbury elect, addressed himself through Lord Ellesmere, the Chancellor, to the King, alleging the so-called Popery of Laud; and, when this attempt failed, recourse was had to a most unusual measure,—unusual, that is, in our own quiet times,—to hinder the election.

"It appears that among the competitors was one Rawlinson, formerly a fellow of St. John's, and at that time Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. When the scrutiny was completed, and the election on the point to be declared, one of Rawlinson's supporters, perceiving that the result would certainly be favourable to Laud, suddenly snatched the scrutiny-paper, and, in a moment, tore it to pieces. By this outrage, some doubt was thrown upon the regularity of his election, and the matter was referred, by appeal, to the decision of the King."—p. 19.

The King confirmed the election, and the dispute ended, though time of course was required to cool the heats which such dissensions involved. Mr. Le Bas here furnishes us with two remarkable facts. The first is, that, bigot and firebrand as Laud is represented, he succeeded, in the course of a few months, in restoring peace to his society, which was never afterwards interrupted. He was able to boast that, during the eleven years of his Presidentship, nothing happened to disturb it; and for the truth of this he publicly appealed in his adversity to the knowledge of individuals of consideration in the Church, who were in a condition to give evidence on the subject. The other instance shall be set before the reader in Mr. Le Bas' own words.

"There was one part of his conduct, more especially, which could scarcely fail to disarm the hatred even of those who had been most forward to injure him. For the sake of example, it was necessary that some punishment should be inflicted on Bayley, the individual who had torn the scrutiny-paper. Laud, however, perceiving him to be a young man

of promising talent, steady application, and intrepid temper, thought it wiser, as well as more charitable, to win him by kindness, than to confirm him in his alienation by severity. He accordingly released him from the censure inflicted upon him, as soon as was consistent with propriety; and, not content with this, he bestowed upon the man his favour and his confidence; and, at length, made him his Chaplain, advanced him in the Church, married him to his brother's daughter, and, eventually, obtained his promotion to that very Presidentship which he had endeavoured to snatch from Laud, and with it, to one of the best Deaneries in the kingdom."—pp. 20, 21.

His next dispute, and under more painful circumstances than any of the former, was with Robert Abbot, the Archbishop's brother.

"It chanced that, in the course of a sermon preached by him (Laud) before the University on Shrove Tuesday, 1614, he had ventured on some expressions bitterly offensive to the Presbyterians. On the Easter day which followed, he (Abbott) preached at St. Peter's in the afternoon, and his Sermon was so obviously directed against the Preacher of Shrove Tuesday, that it was impossible for any one of the congregation to mistake the individual at whom he aimed. At this exhibition, Laud himself was not present. His friends, however, thought it due to his reputation that he should boldly make his appearance at St. Mary's, on the following Sunday; on which day, conformably to the ancient custom of the University, the same Sermon would be repeated. Laud, though not without some reluctance, consented; and the consequence was that, according to his own account of the matter to Bishop Neile, 'he was fain to sit patiently, and hear himself abused, almost an hour together; being pointed at as he sat.'

This circumstance is well worthy of attention, not only because it illustrates the spirit which never ceased to persecute him, till it brought him to the scaffold, but, also, because it shows what were some of the opinions, then stigmatized as treasonable to the Protestant faith. The following is a specimen of the language of the assailant:—

'Some,' said the preacher, 'are partly Romish and partly English, as occasion serves them; that a man may say unto them, *Noster es, an adversariorum?* who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the Puritan, strike at the heart and root of the Faith and Religion now established among us. They cannot plead that they are accounted Papists, because they speak against the Puritan; but, because, being indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them. If they do, at any time, speak any thing against the Papists, they do but beat a little about the bush, and that but softly, too, for fear of waking and disquieting the birds that are in it. They speak nothing but that, wherein one Papist will speak against another; as against Equivocation, and the Pope's temporal authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches. But, in the points of *Free Will, Justification, Concupiscence being a sin after Baptism, Inherent Righteousness, and certainty of Salvation*, the Papists beyond the sea can say they are wholly theirs, and the Recusants

at home make their brags of them. And, in all things, they keep so near the brink, that, upon any occasion, they may step over to them. Now, for this speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists, there is a sting in the speech which I wish had been left out; for there are many Churches beyond the seas which contend for the Religion established among us, and yet have approved and admitted the Presbytery.' Then, after some sentences in vindication of the Presbyterian Discipline, the preacher proceeded thus: 'Might not Christ say, what art thou? *Romish* or *English*? *Papist* or *Protestant*? Or what art thou? A mongrel, or compound of both? A *Protestant* by ordination? a *Papist* in point of *Free Will*, *Inherent Righteousness*, and the like? A *Protestant* in receiving the Sacrament? a *Papist* in the doctrine of the Sacrament? What, do you think there are two heavens? If there be, get you to the other, and place yourselves there. For into this, where I am, ye shall never come!'

This passage is extremely important and memorable. The invective of Abbott very plainly discloses to us certain of those ingredients which entered into the composition of what has been sometimes complained of by the vindicators of Puritanism, as the *Semi-Protestant* Divinity of those days. And this disclosure must be kept steadily in mind, if we would duly estimate the justice of the charge, that, among the theologians of James and Charles, several were guilty of a perfidious approximation to the Romish scheme of doctrine. To exalt the Eucharist above a mere act of commemoration, to maintain the freedom of the human will, to doubt whether or not the elect are favoured with a full and perfect assurance of salvation, all these were infallible symptoms of a relapse into superstition and corruption! Every step *from* Calvinism was held to be *towards* Popery. All who were not fixed and stationary at Geneva, were denounced as meditating a desertion to Rome. By artifices like these, it was that the character of *Papist* was made to adhere to Laud so closely, that he could no more shake it off, than he could escape from his own shadow. Let him say or do what he would, he was still, manifestly, no other than a servant of Anti-Christ!"—pp. 23—26.

These extracts afford a specimen of his "good warfare" at the University, and justify our giving him the title of Reformer. His promotions, which followed successively, introduced him into fresh spheres of usefulness, and of trouble thence resulting. His first dignity was the deanery of Gloucester, and here, while it was Laud's fate to impinge at once upon abuses, which required a remedy, it was not his character tamely to acquiesce in them.

"There was not a Church in the kingdom which exhibited in more ample measure the *peculiarities* of the Calvinistic discipline. Every thing was in a state of scandalous disorder. The cathedral was falling to decay: the worship was assimilated, as nearly as might be, to the service of a Conventicle. So notorious, in short, were the irregularities which had long prevailed, that they had excited the attention and the displeasure of the King: and Laud departed for Gloucester, armed, not only with his own zeal and resolution, but with the strongest injunctions

of his Majesty to effect a searching reformation. The first measure of Laud was to assemble the Chapter, to lay before them his Majesty's instructions, and to procure their consent to two acts,—the one, for a speedy reparation of the fabric; the other, for removing the communion table to the east of the choir, and placing it against the wall, conformably to the usage of other Cathedral Churches. He further recommended to the Clergy, and to the subordinate officers of the Church, the practice of a reverent obeisance on entering the choir; a custom which, at that period, was generally observed, in the chapels of the King, and of many among the first nobility in the land."—pp. 27, 28.

However, he had to encounter the opposition, first of the Bishop, then of the populace, who at the cry of Popery created a tumult, and rendered it necessary for the Magistracy to interfere. Yet here, as in the case of his College, success attended his exertions. In the course of less than a twelvemonth the mob was quieted, and the disorders were reformed, at no price but that which the author of reformations must ever expect from the community, a loss of name and credit to himself, in proportion to his good deeds. Laud set right the Cathedral of Gloucester; and he gained once for all the indelible title of Papist.

This achievement was a specimen of one of the more prominent labours of Laud's life, the restoring sanctity and a permanent form to the externals of religion. He had directed his exertions this way from the first.

"Of the life and habits of Laud, as a parochial clergyman," says Mr. Le Bas, "scarcely any notice has been preserved, except, that as one of his first acts, after taking possession of a living, was to assign an annual pension to twelve poor persons, that he laid aside one fifth part of his income for charitable and pious uses; and *that it was his invariable practice to put the Glebe-house into a state of substantial repair, and to see the Church supplied with becoming furniture.*"

The zeal which animated himself in private, and in matters of personal expense, in the first years of his ministry, showed itself on a noble scale and with most beneficial and enduring results, when he was Archbishop. Let us hear Mr. Le Bas' account of his proceedings in a later period of his life.

First as to the state of Parish Churches.

"The Archbishop resolved upon a Metropolitan Visitation of the whole province of Canterbury; in other words, upon a course of warfare against the manifold indecencies and abominations which, for a long period, had disfigured the Church. One of his first cares was, for the due position of the Sacramental Table, and for its protection from irreverence and desecration. It has already appeared, that, from the moment of his first promotion, this had always held a foremost place in his thoughts: and it has been conceived by many that it occupied a disproportionate share of his attention. In order to estimate his conduct rightly, it will be

proper to take into consideration the consequences which had resulted from a neglect of this department of ecclesiastical discipline. In the Cathedral Churches, then, and in the Chapels of the Nobility, that which we now scruple not to call the *Altar*, was usually placed, *where we now uniformly see it*, close to the Eastern wall of the Church; guarded by a decent railing from defilement and profanation. In many of the Parochial Churches the case was widely different. It was dragged, by Puritanical scruple or caprice, into the body of the Church, and treated as if no peculiar sanctity belonged to it. It often served the Churchwardens for a parish-table, the school-boys for a desk, and the carpenters for a working-board. In one place, we are told, a dog had run away with the bread set apart for the Holy Communion; and in many instances the wine had been brought to the *table* in pint-pots, and bottles, and so was distributed to the people. Such were the effects of an indiscriminate aversion for the practices of Rome! It can hardly be thought surprising that any man, whose mind was rich in the knowledge of Christian antiquity, and whose heart was warm with zeal for the glory of God, should look upon these base and slovenly usages with loathing and indignation; more especially when it was found that, by such practices, the Reformed profession was identified with positive impiety, in the estimation of the most sincere and sober-minded Romanists.

The Archbishop felt it to be his duty to attempt a reform of these unseemly abuses. And when he was finally called upon to answer for his proceedings, he solemnly averred that his motive was not a stupid attachment to Popish mummeries, but solely a desire for the restoration of external and visible Religion."—pp. 183—185.

In the above extract Mr. Le Bas exempts Cathedral Churches and private Chapels from the indignities which had been allowed in country places; however, from a subsequent passage of his work, it would appear that this is but a comparative approbation of them, and that the best that could be said of any class of sacred buildings is that they might have been worse.

"Another most important care which fell upon the Archbishop, was the restoration of the Cathedrals to a fit condition for the due and becoming celebration of Divine Worship. They were, most of them, in a state which indicated a long period of irreverent neglect. The Archbishop resolved to begin the work of reformation in his own glorious Cathedral. His first injunction was, that appropriate furniture should be provided for the solemnity of the Eucharist. And in order that this might be no transient regulation, he compiled a complete body of statutes for the government of the Church, with his own hand signed to every separate leaf, and despatched it to the Chapter under the authority of the Great Seal; and one of the enactments was, that every Prebendary, at his entrance into the Choir, and departure from it, should bow towards the Altar, and so make due reverence to Almighty God. A similar code was prepared by him for the Cathedrals of Winchester and Hereford. In various other Cathedrals, he found that the Chapters had been more careful of their own emoluments than of the repair and decoration of the

fabric. And, with the aid of Bishops Davenant and Morton, such effectual measures were taken for the correction of these abuses, that the Cathedral Churches began to recover something of their ancient dignity and splendour, and to serve for an example to the Churches connected with them. That many of the parochial edifices had long been in need of some such influence to preserve them from ruin, is undeniable. Of this, one instance may be mentioned, as illustrating the feelings with which such profanation was contemplated by Laud. At a visitation held by him, when he was Bishop of London, the preacher at St. Peter's, Cornhill, derived the word *Diaconus* from *κόνις* (*dust*); as if the title were significant of the *dust* and heat of a laborious life. 'I am sorry,' said the Bishop, afterwards, in his charge, 'to find here so true an etymology. Here is *dust*, and dirt too, enough for a Deacon, or a Priest, to work in; dust of the worst kind, from the ruins of this ancient House of God!' But of all the monuments of neglect which Abbott had left behind him, the Chapel of his own palace at Lambeth was, perhaps, the most disgraceful. When first Laud came to reside there, he could never enter it without disgust. It was a scene of filth, disorder, and decay. Among other deformities, the painted windows were in some places broken to pieces; and, in many, they were miserably patched with the most ordinary glass; so that, as Laud avers, they had the appearance of a beggar's coat. This state of things was not suffered by him to continue long. The whole Chapel was properly repaired. The windows were restored and beautified, as nearly as might be, according to the original design. The Communion-table was removed from the middle of the Chapel, fenced with a costly railing, and decorated with a suitable canopy. Plate and other furniture were provided for the Sacramental Service. Copes (which at that time were not wholly disused) were supplied for the use of the officiating Chaplains. The broken and tuneless organ was fitted up: till at length the whole place wore an aspect no longer dishonourable to the worship of God. The example of the Archbishop was not lost upon his own University; and the College chapels at Oxford gradually shook themselves from the dust.

In the principles which dictated these improvements there is surely nothing for intelligent and sober-minded men to reprove. In these days, it is difficult for us to imagine the perverseness which then revolted against the spectacle of decent solemnity—nay, of common cleanliness,—in the public services of Christian devotion. If Laud's proceedings, relative to such matters, were Popish, then are we, of the Reformed establishment of England, now living in the midst of an almost complete apparatus of Popery; for our Cathedrals and our Churches are, for the most part, in a condition which Laud himself might have looked upon with complacency. In those times, however, a reverence towards the Altar was often thought to indicate a firm belief that Christ was corporally present in the Sacrament of the Altar: and, in every painted window, was read no less than a design to subvert the true religion, and to set up Romish, or even semi-pagan, idolatry in its stead."—pp. 205—207.

This frenzy of the day will account for the charge of superstition brought against Laud, in the well-known instance of his con-

secration of St. Catherine's church. We should not have noticed here what we believe to be a mere exaggeration, as far as it is open to remark, except that silence might have looked as if we were ashamed of it. Mr. Hume's account of it is as follows:—

“On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, ‘Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in!’ Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words: ‘This place is holy; the ground is holy; in the name, &c. I pronounce it holy.’ Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust and threw it into the air. When he approached, along with his attendants, near to the communion table, he bowed frequently towards it; and, on their return, they went round the church, repeating as they marched along, some of the Psalms; and then said a form of prayer, which concluded with these words—‘We consecrate this church, and separate it unto Thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses.’ After this the bishop, standing near the communion table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, &c. &c. On the conclusion of each curse he bowed towards the east, &c. The imprecations being all so piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings on such as had any hand in forming and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, &c. At every benediction he in like manner bowed towards the east, &c. The sermon succeeded; after which the bishop consecrated and administered the Sacrament in the following manner. As he approached the communion table he made many lowly reverences, and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the Sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was laid. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times toward the bread; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before. Next he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was full of wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again, and lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others; and many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls, and floor, and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy.”

Here Mr. Hume leaves the matter, but we will add our present author's remarks.

“His answer to this despicable charge may be seen in his own history of his trial; and the statements of his enemies, when compared with his, are almost enough to make one ashamed of human nature. It turned out that the *pompous retinue* consisted only of the officials, who always attend at consecrations; that the throwing up of dust, and the

uttering of curses, were pure fictions; and that the Pontifical supplied no more to the consecration service, than the Missal is known to have done to our Liturgy. He confesses that he approached the church door with the words, *Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in*—a passage which had been used at consecrations from time immemorial. He further allows that he pronounced the ground to be holy, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And he contends that there is a *derivative* and *relative* holiness in places, as well as vessels, and other things, dedicated to the service and honour of God. He avers that he used no bowings (or *cringings*, as they were called,) but such as were demanded by the solemnity of the place and the occasion. And he added, 'are we, who have separated the chaff, to cast away the corn too? If it come to that, let us take heed that we fall not upon the *devil's winnowing*, who labours to beat down the corn. It is not the chaff that troubles him!'—pp. 144, 145.

"But, even admitting for a moment, the representation of his enemies, respecting this fact, to be correct, the very worst which, in that case, could justly be urged against him, amounts to no more than this,—that he was betrayed into some transgression of the rigid letter of the ritual, partly by the fervour of his own devotional feelings, and partly by his disgust at that sordid slovenliness, which, of late years, had rendered the Protestant worship contemptible, and which, be it always remembered, was driving multitudes back within the attraction of Romanism. The fanatics swaggered into the church with their hats on, and frequently so remained during the whole of the divine service. Laud, in his anxiety to correct their almost brutal irreverence, was desirous that they who entered a church, should testify, by an obeisance directed towards its most hallowed spot, that they were conscious of treading within a precinct dedicated to the majesty of Heaven. The same feeling prompted him to give peculiar solemnity to the rite of consecration, the Puritans having maintained that the sanctity of the place walked in, and walked out again, together with the congregation! In short, like many other wise and holy men, he apprehended that 'religion would grow strangely wild, if it were left to the boisterous clowneries and unmannerly liberties' of those who, in the pride of their humility, trampled on the decorous appointments and ordinances of the Church."—pp. 146, 147.

In addition to these apposite observations, we would ask, is there any opportunity for exaggeration more ready than when testimony is to be given concerning manner, gesture, tone of voice, and the like; any circumstances which admit of so much unconscious colouring from the prejudices and feelings of the witnesses? The evidence given every day in police courts, of quarrels or riots, is sufficient to verify this remark. Whether this man or that spoke civilly or insolently,—what were the very words used by each,—who struck first,—whether the party struck, or shoved, or passively repelled, or submitted,—all such questions have two solutions, equally true and equally false, depending on

the side in the dispute taken by the deponents under examination. And in like manner, to a rude and scornful mind, to bow is to cringe; and to feel, and involuntarily show we feel, the presence of God, is either hypocrisy or superstition, as the case may be. Much more might this so appear on the occasion in question, were Laud flurried, or conscious he was making a protest, or that he was being looked at, or were he wanting in ease and dignity; nay, even his disadvantage of person might disparage what in another might have been accounted a seemly and reverential bearing. It should be added, too, that Mr. Hume's account is evidently from one who was unacquainted with the English ritual, and that the ordinary course of our Communion Service, as all clergymen perform it, might be made by the dexterous and profane, very much the same *in kind* as the ceremonial above attributed to Laud.

Laud is generally considered to have failed in his projects for the Church's welfare. His violent death, the immediate downfall of religion, and the unpopularity of his name and principles since, have created this impression. Yet, on a more accurate consideration, we may be led to a different conclusion. Two specimens have already been given of his exertions and his consequent successes. He made our churches decent, and restored their altars, and they remain so restored, so embellished, to this day. He encountered the Genevese spirit when ascendant both in Oxford and in the Church; and never since has it recovered its place, whether in the hierarchy or in the university. He has gained a number of hard names as an inheritance; but to him we owe the suppression of puritanical rationalism and profaneness for two hundred years. A third ever-enduring benefit has been his patronage of sacred learning. By far the greater number of our celebrated divines may be referred, directly or indirectly, to his influence or favour. Usher, Pococke, Hall, Bramhall, Sanderson and Taylor, owed their advancement to him. His principles in their main respects were adopted and propagated, in addition to some of the above, by Hammond, Pearson, Bull, Stillingfleet, and Beveridge. It is true there are two divines of his promoting from whom the Church has reaped no great benefit, able and accomplished as they were—Hales and Chillingworth; but when the circumstances are carefully considered, the censure which has thence attached to him will be found undeserved. These celebrated men were Arminians and Latitudinarians, and hence it is common to consider the archbishop as the follower of Arminius; and sometimes, too, his theological system as of ultra-Protestant tendency. Really, however, he had no more, or rather much less, to do with the principles of the Arminians than

the Puritans themselves. Arminianism, or, as it soon became, Latitudinarianism, was the *reaction* from Calvinism in Holland. The public mind could not long remain contentedly in the trammels of a human system, and, not having the refuge of true Catholicism open to it, it recoiled into an apathetic liberalism. The English Church, though tinctured with Calvinism, under Elizabeth, was saved from this melancholy reverse by the interposition of the more enlarged yet reverent principles of Christian antiquity,—by the rise of Laud's school, among whom there is but slight trace of Latitudinarian indifference. But our reunion with foreign Protestantism introduced that plague. Hales, who accompanied Sir Dudley Carleton to the Synod of Dordt, made acquaintance there with Episcopius, the disciple of Arminius, brought back his doctrines to England, and communicated them to Chillingworth. We have evidence in history of the great disquiet which this importation gave to Laud, who prevailed on one of these two divines to abandon or conceal his opinions. However, the contagion ran its course; in the next reign it gave rise to a school in Cambridge, under Tillotson and others, diffused itself through the nation in the writings of the celebrated Mr. Locke, which drew upon him the condemnation of Laud's own university, and evinced its inbred hatred to the Church, by co-operating in the separation of the Nonjurors, in the erection of the Presbyterian kirk, and in the ascendancy of Hoadly and his party.

But to return to Laud. Mr. Le Bas notices some specimens of his encouragement of letters in the following passages:—

“The distracting responsibilities which came upon him daily, could never, for a moment, divert him from his course of enlightened munificence. He continued to enrich the University which bred him with a profusion of literary treasure, chiefly manuscripts in various languages, ancient and modern, European and Oriental, which he spared no pains in seeking or cost in procuring. Equally admirable was his care for the cultivation of those Eastern tongues which were most eminently subservient to the study of Theology. It has already been noticed that, by his intercession, a Canonry of Christ Church was permanently annexed to the royal professorship of Hebrew. His good offices were now extended to the Arabic language; a lectureship in which, was established, and afterwards endowed by him, in perpetuity, with a revenue of £40 per annum, and of which the first occupant was the illustrious Pocock. He further obtained the annexation of another Canonry to the office of public orator; a benefit which, however, was subsequently lost to literature, during the period of successful rebellion and usurpation. By these and various other instances of noble and generous patronage, his ascendancy at Oxford became almost supreme.”—pp. 213, 214.

Again, three years later :—

“ In the midst of all this care and toil, while his energies were tasked to the uttermost for the honour and stability of the Church, and his name was torn to pieces by ingratitude and calumny, the Archbishop was unwearied in devising liberal and glorious things for the cause of literature and charity. He erected, at his own cost, a stately pile at the west end of the Divinity School, at Oxford; the lower part for the assembling of Convocations, the upper as a repository for learned writings. ‘ And,’ as Heylyn quaintly remarks, ‘ that he might not be said to have given them nothing but an empty box,’ he furnished it with no less than 576 manuscripts, in addition to 700 which he had sent before; of which 100 were Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. His munificence was, likewise, extended to his native town of Reading; upon which he bestowed a revenue of £200 per annum, to be employed in apprenticing young men, in assisting meritorious beginners in trade, in furnishing marriage-portions to deserving female servants, and, lastly, in augmenting the stipend of the minister of the parish church of St. Laurence. He also purchased the perpetual advowson of the same church, and annexed it to the patronage of St. John’s College. Certain other noble designs, of a more public nature, were entertained by him; some of which were executed, and others interrupted by the calamitous vicissitudes which fell upon him. Among those which he was not spared to accomplish, may be mentioned, his projects for increasing the poorer vicarages, for the settlement of the London tithes, for the establishment of a Greek press at Oxford, and for obtaining a grant from his Majesty, for the purchase of impropriations. He, further, intended to procure, at his own charge, a copy, on vellum, of all the Records in the Tower, relating to the Clergy, from the 20th of Edward I. to the end of Henry VIII.: but the troubles of the time prevented the completion of this work to a later period than the 14th of Edward IV. In order that the learned men of Europe might be enabled to judge between that Church and the faction which assailed it, he caused the Liturgy which had been rejected by the Scots to be translated into Latin: but the publication of it was prevented by the same unhappy cause which stifled several of his other undertakings.”—p. 249—251.

At an earlier date he had prevailed on the Earl of Pembroke to purchase no less than 240 Greek manuscripts as a present to the University, and gained twenty-eight more for the same destination from Sir Thomas Roe, King James’s ambassador to the Mogul. A benefit of a different and more important nature was his undertaking the task of forming the University Statutes, which had fallen into a state of almost inextricable confusion, into one intelligible digest, accommodated to existing circumstances. To this service was added the further benefaction of obtaining from the Crown the celebrated *Caroline Charter*, which contained not only a confirmation of all the ancient privileges of the University, but a grant of new ones, as ample and honourable as those enjoyed by the University of Cambridge. Here again Laud occu-

pies the position which we have already ascribed to him, the author of great and permanent deeds. Under his constitution the University is still conducted.

Another strenuous act, of which posterity has reaped the fruits, was his resistance of the Puritan scheme of purchasing impropriations for the establishment of lectureships in towns. This took place in the year 1631, under the following circumstances. Some years before, one Dr. Preston, a person of great influence among the Puritans, had recommended to the Duke of Buckingham the destruction of the Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches. The reasons produced by him for this confiscation were, as Mr. Le Bas informs us, first, "the promotion of God's glory," next, as subsidiary, the payment of James's debts, and the creation of patronage for the favourite himself. The plan failed; but the projector, untired, exerted himself in the discovery of some other means of effecting his end, the weakening of the Church established, and this was the plan above-mentioned. A sort of corporation was formed for the purchase of impropriations, though without authority either from King or Parliament, and very considerable sums were subscribed. The impropriations therewith purchased, instead of being employed in benefiting the livings to which they originally belonged, were used in the hiring of stipendiary lecturers, altogether dependent on their employers, and notoriously disaffected to the discipline, if not the doctrine, of the Church. The support of schoolmasters, of students at the University, of silenced ministers, and of their widows and children, were additional objects to which the fund was applied. Such a project, introducing into the heart of the Church a body of ministers dependent solely on a self-constituted board, was plainly intolerable, and Laud succeeded in overthrowing it by means of the law.

After surveying for a while the above and similar instances of Laud's services to the Church, the question suddenly comes across the mind, "What it is after all that has made such a man so unpopular?" and no wonder, if for a moment it remains in doubt. But the question is of no difficult solution: he was a Reformer and Restorer; and the labours of such men, when most beneficial, really are least pleasant to the objects benefited. It is easy indeed to gain these popular titles by popular acts, by flattering the waywardness of the populace or the cupidity of kings; but when most is done, fewest understand it, though their praise is a sufficient return. Besides, as was above noticed, Laud had the faults which commonly belong to reformers, though they have been most indulgently regarded in the case of others. He was rough and hasty in manner, violent in temper, and inconsiderate, nay it may be said even cruel, in occasional words or deeds. We have evidence of

his own consciousness and distress at these failings; and of his deep and habitual humility. The more we inspect his character, the more we shall acquit him of spiritual pride and self-esteem; an enemy might indeed accuse him of a superstitious and slavish temper, (to speak the language of this day,) but scarcely of the haughty, self-exalting spirit of a Wolsey. Yet, lowly as might be his own thoughts about himself, he was undeniably intemperate in his words and manner. On the examination of Felton before the Council, he threatened him with the rack;—an excess which not even the atrocity of the assassin's crime and his own strong attachment to Buckingham can excuse. When Richardson, the Chief Justice, was brought before the Council for giving orders to the Clergy in disobedience to the Royal injunction, Laud took upon himself to administer the censure upon him. It is sad work noticing the failings of men to whom we are indebted, and it does good to no one. Who is surprised at reading of Knox's violence and extravagances, his exulting approval of Cardinal Beautoun's assassination, and his violence towards Mary? He was not simply betrayed into excesses, but committed them on principle; yet we are accustomed to take them as part of his whole character, we take him for what he is, as a fact in history, and we bear to mention his name without reviling it. We call him magnanimous, and so in charity veil his pride and insolence. In like manner we endure in Luther great liberties of language, because he was a great man; liberties which we should be shocked even in imagination to impute to Laud. Calvin, again, in burning Servetus, went very far beyond Laud; as did the mild and cautious Cranmer himself, when, not from warmth of temper, but actuated by the spirit of the age, he kindled the flames of Smithfield in behalf of the Anabaptists. Charges, then, of ill-temper, peevishness and the like, are unfair and invidious when urged against so considerable a man as Laud; they were failings certainly, and are not to be explained away; but we may fairly ask for such persons as are not, in some respect or other, as faulty as he was, to cast the stone at him, and may allow his infirmities to pass *sub silentio* till we find a ruler or reformer of these last degenerate times less open to serious charges in life or manners. The real difference between him and the Reformers who preceded him seems to be this, that he was intemperate *against* his age, and they *with* their age; and, as treason never prospers, so strong measures, when unsuccessful, pass for rashness and tyranny. It is not a question between them of truth, but of good policy.

The other chief ground of exception against him is his supposed inclinations towards Popery; but these will always be attributed to the most moderate of men who unhappily live in the

midst of Puritanism or Latitudinarianism. Bishop Butler has not escaped a whit more successfully than Laud; as if to show us that not the greatest sobriety of mind or philosophical abstraction from the excitements and struggles of life will suffice for the exculpation of those who scruple to run the full race of vulgarities and profanities miscalled Protestantism. Laud bowed to the altar, Butler put up a cross; this was *enough* in the eyes of the multitude to asperse the fame of the former as well as of the latter; and it cannot be *more* than aspersed in consequence of those opportunities which he had and used above Butler for diffusing his principles. Till, then, something more in point is brought than that he offended the Puritans of his day or of this day, we may be content to let him bear so far an ill fame, which, as it never can be removed, while Puritanism lasts, so it need inspire his admirers with little uneasiness, as if it led to the suspicion of some lurking defect in him who endured it.

The imperfections of true Christians are but as light clouds, and a warm charity will easily dissipate them; their excellences and works, their trials, sufferings and teaching, remain as substantial comforts for those who inherit their principles. For such readers, and we hope and believe that our readers are in the number of them, whatever judgment they may form about particular actions of the illustrious man under review, we will select from Mr. Le Bas's interesting narrative some account of the sufferings of his last years, and the final combat he underwent, as a good soldier of Christ, on the scaffold.

When he was in the Tower he received a message from Gro-tius, urgently beseeching him to seek safety in flight until the troubles should have abated, as the Lord-Keeper (Finch) and Secretary Windebank had already done.

"But Laud inflexibly refused this counsel. 'An escape,' he said, 'is feasible enough. Yea, it is, I believe, the very thing my enemies desire. For, every day, an opportunity for it is presented; a passage being left free, in all likelihood for this purpose, that I should endeavour to take advantage of it. But they shall not be gratified by me. I am almost seventy years old. Shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life, by the trouble and the shame of flying? Should I go to France, or any other Popish country, it would give some seeming grounds for that charge of Popery, which they have endeavoured, with so much industry, and so little reason, to fasten upon me. But if I should get into Holland, I should expose myself to the insults of those sectaries there, to whom my character is odious, and have every Anabaptist come and pluck me by the beard. No: I am resolved not to think of flight, but patiently to expect and bear what a good and wise Providence hath provided for me, of what kind soever it shall be.' "—p. 290.

After a time he was consigned to the keeping of Prynne, who

had suffered from the severities of the Star-Chamber, and, as he himself asserted, especially through the influence of the archbishop.

"That worthy minister of revolutionary vengeance repaired to the Tower on the 31st of May, armed with full powers to search and seize. That he should carry with him to the execution of this office, some feelings of bitterness against the man whom he regarded as the principal author of his mutilation, might, reasonably enough, have been expected. But, on this occasion, he demeaned himself, not only like an enemy, but like a shameless villain. He found the archbishop in his bed, and immediately began to ransack his pockets. He then laid hands on a mass of papers, which Laud had prepared for his defence; on two letters from the king, relative to Chartham and his other benefices; on his Scottish Service Book, with such directions as were attached to it; on his Diary, in which he had briefly noted all the occurrences of his life; and he did not even spare the archbishop's Book of Private Devotions. All the money that he discovered was about £40, and this he was graciously pleased to leave untouched; for revenge, and not gold, was his object: and speedily afterwards it was proclaimed from the pulpit, that great and fearful things had been discovered in this search, which would soon be brought to light."—p. 301.

Omitting the history of the vexations and indignities which Laud suffered, we come to Mr. Le Bas' account of his trial.

"The trial, which commenced on the 12th of March, continued, with some intervals of cessation, until the end of July. The archbishop vindicated himself against every charge with such consummate ability, such intrepid bearing, and such evident consciousness of innocence and high desert, as won for him the admiration of all; and extorted expressions of splenetic wonder, and bitter praise, even from William Prynne himself. 'To give him his due,' says that worthy, 'he made as full, as gallant, and as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake so much for himself, as it was possible for the wit of man to invent, and that, with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity and confidence, without the least blush or acknowledgment of guilt in anything, as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent, a far better orator and sophister, than Protestant or Christian; yea, a truer son of the Church of Rome than of the Church of England.' We may fully rely on the truth of the reluctant commendation here pronounced. The value of the censure will be duly estimated, when we remember that it came from one who proclaimed Archbishop Laud to be the most execrable traitor and apostate that our English soil, or the whole Christian world, had ever bred! Once, and only once, in the course of this persecution, did the spirit of Laud break forth into open and vehement indignation. One of the managers, a foul-mouthed ruffian, by the name of Nicolas, among other disgusting abuse, repeatedly reviled him as a *pander to the whore of Babylon*. 'I was much moved,' says Laud, 'and humbly desired the Lords, that if my crimes were such that I might not be used like an archbishop, yet I might be used like a Christian; and

that, were it not for the duty I owed to God and my own innocence, I would desert my defence, before I would endure such language in such an honourable presence.' Their lordships were sufficiently touched by this appeal, to desire that the speaker would lay aside his slanderous rhetoric, and proceed with the evidence.

"The trial being finished, all appeared ripe for a sentence. But still there was more impediment than was anticipated. To use his own expression, 'he had been sifted to the bran.' Nevertheless, after all this sifting, whatever else was discovered, no *residuum* of treason could be found. On the 2d of September he was allowed to deliver a recapitulation of his impeachment and defence, before the Lords. The instant he came to the bar, he perceived that every peer in the House was provided with a thin folio, in a blue cover. This turned out to be the handywork of William Prynne, who had printed an infamously garbled *Breviate* of his Diary, embellished with his own commentaries, and had placed it in the hands of his judges, in order that the sight of that secret record might strike a damp upon his spirit, and chain up his tongue. His wickedness, however, was herein signally defeated. The archbishop 'gathered up himself, and looked to God,' and pronounced his recapitulation. His address produced such aggravated confusion among his enemies, that, two days afterwards, the Commons began to talk of having him sentenced by an *ordinance*. An impeachment of high treason, they found, would hardly reach him. But an attainder, by the 'barefaced power' of the two Houses, would be irresistible.

"After some further proceedings, and much clamour on the part of Nicolas, (who loudly demanded that the archbishop should be hanged,) on the 11th of October, his counsel were heard at the bar of the Lords, on two points; *first*, whether his imputed offences amounted to treason; *secondly*, whether there were sufficient legal certainty and particularity in the articles of impeachment. With regard to the former of these points, the archbishop had already appealed, unanswerably, to the Lords, in his recapitulation. 'If no particular,' he said, 'which is charged upon me, be treason, the result from them cannot. For the result must be of the same nature and species, as the particulars from which it rises; and this holds in nature, in morality, and in law. So, this imaginary result is a monster in nature, in morality, and in law; and if it be nourished, will devour all the safety of the subject, in England, which now stands so well fenced by the known law of the land.' Yet was it now contended, with shameless effrontery, by Sergeant Wilde, in answer to the archbishop's counsel, that, although no single crime of his amounted to treason, or to felony, yet did all his misdemeanors, when put together, form many grand treasons, by way of accumulation. But 'nature, morality and law,' were, by this time, set at nought by them that were assembled to administer *justice*. The appeal was now to a very different authority. The passions of a delirious populace were called in to quicken the tardy proceedings of the judges. Towards the end of October, petitions were got up by the most disgraceful and inhuman artifices, for the speedy punishment of all *delinquents*. And, on the 1st of November, the archbishop was summoned to appear at the bar of the House of

Commons, who, in utter contempt of law or right, were pleased to treat their prisoner as if he were already degraded from the dignity of a Lord of Parliament. Well knowing that resistance would be useless, he obeyed the order. He was then apprised by the Speaker, that the ordinance for his attainder was actually drawn up, but was suspended till he should hear, and answer, a summary of the charge. On the 11th of November he pronounced his last defence. He began by acknowledging the comparatively moderate and civil manner in which the proceedings against him had been recapitulated by Mr. Browne, the Clerk of the House. 'For this,' he said, 'I render him my humble thanks, having, from other hands, pledged my Saviour in gall and vinegar, and drunk the cup of the scornings of the people, to the very bottom. I shall follow everything in the same order he proceeded in; so far forth, at least, as an old slow hand could take them, a heavy heart observe them, and an old decayed memory retain them.' Having accomplished this, he reminded the House that they had before them, not the evidence itself, but merely a report of it, furnished by the individual who attended the House of Lords for that purpose; and, further, that this person was not always present, and was, consequently, able to supply them, as to some particulars, only with a statement of what had been reported to him by others. And he conjured them to pause before they delivered a verdict upon such grounds as these. He next desired them to consider his calling, his age, his former life, his long and rigorous imprisonment. And, lastly, he made a solemn protestation, that, whatever might have been his infirmities or errors, 'he never intended, much less endeavoured, the subversion of the laws of the kingdom, nor the bringing in of Popish superstition upon the true Protestant religion, established by law in this kingdom.' These words, however, might as well have been addressed to the bare walls as to the men who sat within them. The mystery of iniquity was now drawing towards its consummation. On the 16th, the ordinance for his attainder was passed, and instantly transmitted to the House of Lords; and there it found an impatient and most flagitious advocate, in the Chancellor of Oxford, the Earl of Pembroke. He disgraced himself and his order by the coarsest scurrility. He denounced the archbishop as a rascal and a villain. And he had even the insolence and the turpitude to warn the Lords against the rashness of delaying their consent, till the rabble should be collected at their doors to force it from them. He demanded of the Lords what they stuck at? and asked them whether they imagined that the Commons had no conscience when they framed and passed the ordinance? So outrageous was his demeanor, that it was remarked, that, if ever there should be a parliament in Bedlam, his lordship ought by all means to be chosen Speaker of it. In spite of this, the business lingered till the 17th of December. It was then voted that the archbishop was, *in fact*, guilty of three things; *first*, of endeavouring to subvert the laws; *secondly*, of an attempt to overthrow the Protestant religion; and, *thirdly*, of being an enemy to parliaments. The question was then put to the Judges, whether, or not, all this amounted to treason. Their unanimous answer was, that nothing with which he was charged by the impeachment, even if fully proved, would amount to treason, by any known and established law of the land.

"The Lords had sufficiently degraded themselves by consenting to the attainder of Strafford. Nevertheless, the above response of the sages of the law arrested them, only for a moment, in their descent to still lower depths of infamy. At a conference, held on the 24th of December, they ventured to represent to their masters, the Commons, that, after the most diligent search, they were able to find no treason in the acts of which the archbishop was accused. Another conference, however, took place on the 2d of January, 1645, by which their consciences were so effectually enlightened, that, on the 4th of the same month, the ordinance of attainder was passed by the voice of six peers, the rest of that assembly having absented themselves, through fear or shame. On the 7th, a third conference was solemnized, at which the Lords informed the Commons, that the archbishop had pleaded a pardon from the king, in arrest of judgment. This pardon had been granted by his majesty at the suggestion of Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; and had been secretly conveyed to Laud before he was brought to trial. It was received by him with great joy, as a testimony of his sovereign's affection and esteem. But he never imagined, for a moment, that it would protect him against the fury of men, who were levying war against the king himself. In fact, he might almost as well have pleaded a pardon from the Pope! The royal act of grace was, of course, pronounced to be of none effect against a judgment of the *Parliament*. The only favour vouchsafed to the prisoner, was, that the gibbet should be exchanged for the axe; and even this boon was extorted with extreme difficulty. His first application for it was brutally rejected. A second petition to the Lords was more successful. It was felt, at last, that an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Privy Counsellor, and a member of their own House, could not be hanged up like a common felon, without indelible disgrace to all concerned in his destruction. And the Commons, after some debate, reluctantly consented to the commutation."—p. 311—317.

Ample as have been our extracts from Mr. Le Bas' work, we should be wanting to the memorable narrative before us, if we omitted the concluding scene.

"We must hasten to the close of the tragedy. The intelligence of his doom was received by Laud, in the temper which became a Christian Bishop. It had long been manifest that he was neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die. And, when death was once before him, he instantly broke off the history of his sufferings, and calmly prepared himself for his departure. On the evening of January the 9th, the day before his execution, he refreshed himself with a moderate meal, retired to rest, and slept so soundly, that his attendants had to wake him when the hour was come. He then continued in prayer, until the officers arrived to conduct him to the scaffold. He had requested that three of his own chaplains might be with him in the Tower, and at the place of execution. But even this comfort was inhumanly denied him. One chaplain, indeed, his persecutors allowed to attend him, at his death; but, with him, they sent two of their own incendiaries and fanatics. On his way, he was occasionally assailed by the revilings of the lowest of the populace,

who were unwilling that he should pass even to the grave in peace. But his composure was unruffled by these insults ; and when he reached the spot, he ascended the platform 'with so brave a courage, and a countenance so cheerful, as if he mounted rather to behold a triumph, than to be made a sacrifice.' It was remarked, that four years of imprisonment and affliction had left the natural floridness of his complexion wholly unimpaired. Being permitted to speak to the people, he read to them a paper of considerable length, which he had drawn up for that purpose. In this address he acknowledged that, although he felt the infirmities of flesh and blood, and might have been glad that the cup which was given him should pass from him, yet he was now ready to drink it. . . . He then proceeded to speak of himself : 'I was born and baptized'—he says—'in the Church of England : in that profession I have ever since lived ; and, in that, I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God ; least of all in matters of religion. What clamours and slanders I have endured, for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of that Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt. And now,' he added, 'I am accused of high treason ; a crime which my soul abhors. I am charged with an endeavour to subvert the laws, and to overthrow the Protestant religion. In vain I protested my innocence of these crimes. The protestations of prisoners, it was said, could never be received at the bar of justice. I can bring no witness of my heart ! I now, therefore, make my protest, in the presence of God, and his holy angels, that I never did attempt the subversion either of religion or of law. I, further, have been maligned, as an enemy to Parliaments. I know their uses too well to be their enemy. But I, likewise, know that parliaments have been sometimes guilty of misgovernment and abuse ; and that no corruption is so bad, as the corruption of that which, in itself, is excellent. From the power of parliaments there is no appeal. If, therefore, they should be guilty of oppression, the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done ;' he said in conclusion, 'I forgive all the world ; all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me. And I humbly desire to be forgiven—of God first ; and then, of every man, whether I have offended him or not ; if he do but conceive that I have, Lord do thou forgive me, and I do beg forgiveness of him. And so, I heartily bid you join in prayer with me.' He then fell on his knees, and uttered the following memorable supplication, no word of which should be suffered to perish from the annals of martyrdom :

"O eternal God and merciful Father ! look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies, look down upon me ; but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ, not till Thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ ; not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ, that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech Thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the King's happiness, and the Church's preservation. And my zeal to this, (far from arrogance be it spoken !) is all the sin, (human frailty excepted, and

all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer; I say, in this particular of treason. But otherwise my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all; and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me! And when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes; and carry me through death, that I may look upon it, in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen! And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more than miserable kingdom, (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for myself;) O Lord, I beseech Thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people. But if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours, upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of Religion, the establishment of the King and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws, and in their native liberty. And when Thou hast done all this in mere mercy to them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness, and with religious, dutiful obedience to Thee and thy commandments all their days. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy bosom! Amen. Our Father which art in heaven, &c."

After narrating a number of painfully interesting details, which our space will not admit, Mr. Le Bas proceeds—

"Having put some money into the man's [the executioner's] hand, he said to him, with unruffled countenance, 'Honest friend, God forgive thee, as I do. Do thine office upon me with mercy.' He then sunk, again, upon his knees, and prayed shortly in these words: 'I am coming, O Lord, as quickly as I can. I know I must pass through death, before I can come to see thee. But, it is only the mere shadow of death; a little darkness upon nature. Thou, by thy merits, hast broken through the jaws of death. The Lord receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood among them; for Jesus Christ's sake, if it be thy will.' Having laid his head upon the block, after a few moments of silent supplication, he said aloud, *Lord receive my soul.* This was the death-signal agreed upon. The axe fell: and a single blow of it delivered the Archbishop, for ever, from his persecutors."

Here then we must close our account of Mr. Le Bas' volume. Were we reviewing the writing of any one else, it might be necessary to have employed ourselves more directly in a critique upon the work itself. But our author's name is too well known to need any officious panegyric from us. Praise is fitly bestowed on rising merit only, and we should be seriously pained at the necessity, were there one, of bestowing it on Mr. Le Bas. We believe that for honest and manly pursuit of truth, no living

writer has a greater claim on our reverence; and a writer thus endowed will not fail to draw readers after him on to the truth, and not merely to himself,—to the attainment of truth, not to the contemplation of his own talents;—and will gain a far higher reward than the mere popularity could be, in successfully forming their views and principles, and in giving them objects for their nobler feelings to rest on, and take comfort in, during evil times.

ART. VI.—*Parochial Sermons.* By John Henry Newman, M. A. Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin's, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College. Rivingtons, London. Parker, Oxford. 1836.

THE author of this volume has been occasionally stigmatized, in various quarters, in the Church and out of the Church, as a bigot,—an ascetic,—a high Church fanatic,—and, worse than all, as little better than a champion of Popery. We are tempted, by these current imputations, to seize on the advertisement which he has prefixed to the volume before us; and, in which, he has thought fit to make some allusion to the charges in question. This he does with much brevity and simplicity, and with marvellous composure of spirit. It is quite evident that the arraignment has failed to inflict the slightest disturbance on his temper or his self-possession. His words are few;—but we suspect that they will be found extremely incommodious to his accusers. Speaking of the pamphlet, recently published by Mr. Stanley, he says—

“As to the remarks in the same pamphlet on the resemblance of the author's opinions to Romanism, it is quite enough to observe in reply, that if Popery be a perversion or corruption of the Truth, as we believe, it must, by the mere force of the terms, be like that Truth which it counterfeits; and therefore, that the fact of a resemblance, as far as it is borne out, is no proof of any essential approximation in his opinions to Popery, as such. Rather, it would be a serious argument against their primitive character, if, to superficial observers, they bore no likeness to it. Ultra-Protestantism could never have been silently corrupted into Popery.”
—Adv. pp. vii. viii.

Now we earnestly beg to recommend these calm but pithy sentences to the attentive consideration of all good *Ultra-Protestants*! We feel almost, if not altogether, certain, that the view of the matter here suggested—plain as it appears when offered—can never have once occurred to numbers among them that have the cry of *Popery* eternally in their mouths. They have never thought of asking themselves how it is possible that a counterfeit religion,—or a counterfeit system of any kind whatever,—should fail to bear some resemblance to the truth which it professes to exhibit. From the very nature of the case, there must

be a resemblance;—unless, indeed, the counterfeit were finished with a most surpassing infelicity of execution! What should we say of any one who refused to believe that a faithful portrait could possibly be a correct representation of the original, because it reminded every beholder that he had seen the same features, under the exaggeration and distortion of a skilful caricature? Yet this is, precisely, the absurdity incurred by those, who will see no resemblance to primitive Christianity, in any doctrinal statement, which recalls the errors of Romanism to their recollection; forgetting that if such statements bore no resemblance whatever to Romanism, neither could they bear any resemblance to that original truth, of which Romanism is but the perversion.

“Ultra-Protestantism”—says Mr. Newman—“could never have been silently corrupted into Popery.” And says he not true? Let us suppose, for instance, that primitive Christianity had been, in all respects, that very thing which was contended for by the School of Geneva, as the truth of God, in doctrine, and the sceptre of Christ’s kingdom, in discipline. Is it, in that case, credible—is it even conceivable—that a phenomenon such as Romanism should ever have arisen in the world? That such an original system of belief, and of government, might have undergone a corruption—and probably would have undergone it—cannot reasonably be doubted. But the question is, whether it could possibly have undergone a form and manner of corruption, which should have ended in results essentially similar to those which constitute the distinguishing deformities of Popery at the present day? What peculiar deformities of its own such a perversion might have exhibited, is, of course, a matter which no mortal sagacity can venture to determine. Thus much, however, we may confidently presume to affirm,—that the process of deterioration must have terminated in something widely different from what is now called Popery. We do not mean to aver that it must have been free from every element which may now be found to enter into the Romish system. For that system contains some ingredients with which human depravity and folly are almost sure, in the course of ages, to contaminate the purity of revelation. All we maintain is this,—that the whole Popish scheme, such as we now see it, and such as the world has seen it for centuries, could never have grown out of the truth,—if the truth had originally been what has often been contended for by the Ultra-Protestant party, from the time of the Reformation to the present hour. This, it may be said, is incapable of demonstration: and even so it may be. But, at all events, it is a matter which deserves the closest enquiry, and the most patient meditation; and, for this

reason, we implore of our readers not to dismiss it hastily or contemptuously from their thoughts.*

But to come to the Discourses themselves. There are probably many persons who will discover a fearful resemblance to Romanism in the sixth Sermon, on Faith and Obedience. The text is from Matth. xix. 17:—*If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.* From which words, a plain unlettered man, who had never heard of such a thing as theological controversy, would doubtless conclude, without a moment's hesitation, that he could not well do wrong, in attempting to enter into life, by keeping the commandments,—or in attempting to keep the commandments, in order to enter into life. This, however, according to a certain school, would be an exceedingly dangerous mode of proceeding. All such attempts are held by that school to be nearly as much in opposition to the scheme of man's redemption, as the error of the Judaizing Galatians. Has not St. Paul told us that we are accepted and saved by faith? And did not St. Paul speak under the guidance of the Spirit? How, then, are we to have a right understanding of the words of Christ himself, unless we take St. Paul for his interpreter? Mr. Newman, of course, abstains from leading his parishioners into the worse than Cretan labyrinth of controversy, which has been hewn out by the labour of the polemics, in this region of theology. He contents himself with showing that faith, and obedience, are but different *phases*, or aspects, of one and the same principle. And this he has done in a manner which, in our humble estimation, is admirably fitted to make plain the way of the Lord before the face of them who are seeking to enter into his rest. Nevertheless, we have very little doubt that there are some extremely zealous and well-meaning persons, who would almost as readily circulate the theology of Peter Dens among their people, as this simple parochial Sermon of Mr. Newman's! We have neither time nor space for any detailed examination of his statements. We must confine ourselves to one passage, which ought to quiet the alarms of any reasonable or reasoning man.

"Before closing the subject, however, it may be necessary, in a few words, to explain *why* it is that, in some parts of St. Paul's Epistles, a

* It is proper to notice here, that (probably by some error of transcription, or typography) Mr. Stanley has given an erroneous representation of Mr. Newman's opinions relative to one point. An extract from Mr. Newman's Second Volume of Sermons, stands thus, in p. 22, of the Second Edition of Mr. Stanley's pamphlet: "By a Priest, in a Christian sense, is meant an appointed channel, by which the peculiar Gospel blessings are conveyed to mankind; one, who has authority to apply to individuals those gifts, which Christ has promised to us, generally, as *Priests of mediation.*" Whereas, in the Sermon itself, the concluding words stand as follows: "which Christ has promised us, generally, as *the fruit of His mediation.*" See *Advertisement*, p. vii.

certain stress is laid upon faith over and above the other parts of a religious character, in our justification. The reason seems to be as follows: the Gospel being preeminently a covenant of grace, faith is of more excellence than other virtues, because it confesses this beyond all others. Works of obedience witness to God's just claims upon us, not to His mercy; but faith comes empty-handed, hides even its own worth, and does but point at that precious scheme of redemption which God's love has devised for sinners. Hence, it is the frame of mind especially suitable to us, and is said, in a special way, to justify us, because it glorifies God, witnessing that *He accepts those, and those only, who confess that they are not worthy to be accepted.*"—p. 93.

To sum up the whole, therefore, in Mr. Newman's own words—

"To have a habit of faith, and to be obedient, are one and the same general character of mind. Viewed as sitting at Jesus's feet, it is called *Faith*. Viewed as running to do His will, it is called *Obedience.*"—p. 88.

The eighth is a very interesting and instructive Sermon, on contracted views in religion, from Luke, xv. 29. We do not know whether anything resembling Papistry is to be found in this discourse; unless it be in the passage which speaks of the Church Catholic as our *divinely* intended guide. But we are quite sure that it is full of moderation, and of charity, and of the meekness of wisdom. For example,—

"God works wondrously in the world: and, at certain periods, His providence puts on a new aspect. Religion seems to be failing when it is merely changing its form. God seems, for an instant, to desert His own appointed instruments, and to be putting honour upon such as have been framed in express disobedience to His commands. For instance,—sometimes He brings about good by means of wicked men, or seems to bless the efforts of those who have separated from His Holy Church more than those of His true labourers. Here is the trial of the Christian's faith; who, if the fact be clearly proved, must not resist it; lest haply he be found fighting against God; nor must he quarrel with it after the manner of the elder brother (in the parable). But he must take every thing as God's gift; hold fast his *principles*; not give *them* up because appearances are, for the moment, against them; but believe that all things will come round at length."—pp. 118, 119.

Now, to be sure, there may be persons who can smell Popery, in every syllable which relates to God's "appointed instruments;" or, on the other hand, to instruments which "have been framed in express disobedience to his commands,"—or, to persons "who have separated from his *Holy Church*,"—or, to the necessity of "holding fast the principles," which recognize such things, in spite of all appearances which may, for a season, combine to pour contempt upon them. But then it must, at all events, be acknowledged that this uncompromising adhesion to certain unpo-

pular notions, is here very palatably qualified by the candid admission, that the unauthorized *instruments* may, sometimes, be honoured by more signal usefulness than the legitimate ones; and that not only is it uncharitable, but may be positively impious, to shut our eyes against the fact, whenever the fact can be sufficiently established by proofs. It is something, surely, for a *bigotted* Churchman to acknowledge, that it may be the purpose of God, occasionally to provoke the Church herself to jealousy, by the more successful labours of those who have abandoned her communion. It would not be ^{an} ~~no~~ easy matter to find a Papist who would make any such admission. No Romish *Priest*, at any rate, would dare to put such a concession in print, any more than he would dare to question the decrees of Trent. Will it not, then, be allowed, that this *Anglican Romanist* has still enough of the Protestant savour about him, if not to please, at least to pacify, the nostril even of Ultra-Protestant theology? And, if there be any who have been taught to connect with his name the notions of narrowness, and bigotry, and "all uncharitableness,"—let those persons seriously incline to hear the following words; which sound, in our ears, not like the trumpet-note of persecution and intolerance, but rather like the silvery tones of the charity which *vaunteth not itself, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth.*

"As we cannot help hearing what goes on in the world, let us guard, on hearing it, against all intemperate, uncharitable feelings towards those who differ from us, or oppose us. Let us pray for our enemies; let us try to make out men to be as good as they can fairly and safely be considered; let us rejoice at any symptoms of repentance, or any marks of good principle in those who are on the side of error. Let us be forgiving. Let us try to be very humble, to know our ignorance, and to rely constantly on the enlightening grace of our Great Teacher. Let us be "slow to speak, slow to wrath;"—not abandoning our principles, or shrinking from the avowal of them when seasonable, or going over to the cause of error, or fearing consequences, but acting ever from a sense of duty, not from passion, pride, jealousy, or an unbelieving dread of the future; feeling gently, even when we have reason to act severely. "Son, thou art ever with Me, and all that I have is thine." What a gracious announcement if we could realize it, and how consolatory, so far as we have reason to hope that we are following on to know God's will, and living in His faith and fear! What should alarm those who have Christ's *power*, or make them envious who have Christ's *fulness*? How ought we calmly to regard, and resolutely endure, the petty workings of an evil world, thinking seriously of nothing but of the souls that are perishing in it!"—pp. 119, 120.

The twelfth Sermon is on "the Humiliation of the Eternal Son." The object of it is to set forth, as plainly as human lan-

guage can set forth, the *great mystery* of Godliness; namely, that, in the person of our Lord, there was combined "a double assemblage of attributes, divine and human." Among the paradoxes involved in that *great mystery*, there is none, perhaps, more astounding, than the union of partial ignorance with perfect and unlimited knowledge. The following is the manner in which Mr. N. addresses himself to this stupendous difficulty:

"If any one stumble at this, as not a mere mystery, but in the very form of language a contradiction of terms, I would have him reflect on those peculiarities of human nature itself, which were just now hinted at. Let him consider the condition of his own mind, and see how like a contradiction it is. Let him reflect upon the faculty of memory, and try to determine whether he does or does not know a thing which he cannot recollect, or rather, whether it may not be said of him, that one selfsame person, that in one sense he knows it, in another he does not know it. This may serve to appease his imagination, if it startles at the mystery. Or let him consider the state of an infant, which seems, indeed, to be without a soul for many months, which seems to have only the senses and functions of animal life, yet has, we know, a soul which may even be regenerated. What, indeed, can be more mysterious than the Baptism of an infant? How strange is it, yet how transporting a sight, what a source of meditation is opened on us, while we look upon what seems so helpless, so reasonless, and know that at that moment it has a soul so fully formed, as on the one hand, indeed, to be a child of wrath; and on the other (blessed be God) to be capable of a new birth through the Spirit! Who can say, if we had eyes to see, in what state that infant soul is? Who can say it has not its energies of reason and of will in some unknown sphere, quite consistently with the reality of its insensibility to the external world? Who can say that all of us, or at least all who are living in the faith of Christ, have not some strange but unconscious life in God's presence all the while we are here,—knowing, yet not knowing we know,—and this without therefore having a double self, and with an increase to us, not a diminution, of the practical reality of our earthly sojourn and probation? Are there not men before now who, like Elisha when his spirit followed Gehazi, or St. Peter, when he announced the coming of Sapphira's bearers, or St. Paul when his presence went before him to Corinth, seem to range beyond themselves, even while in the flesh? Who knows where he is 'in visions of the night?' And this being so, how can we pronounce it to be any contradiction that, while the word of God was upon earth, in our flesh, compassed within and without with human virtues and feelings, with faith and patience, fear and joy, doubt, misgivings, infirmities, temptations, still He was, according to His Divine Nature, as from the first, passing in thought from one end of Heaven even to the other, reading all hearts, foreseeing all events, and receiving all worship as in the bosom of the Father? This, indeed, is what He suggests to us Himself in those surprising words addressed to Nicodemus, which imply that even His human

nature was at that very time in heaven while He spoke to him. 'No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man *which is in heaven.*'—pp. 182—184.

There is much, in this passage, to call forth the loftiest powers of meditation, and, at the same time, to demand the most exalted exercise of faith. With regard to the peculiar difficulty of *partial ignorance in combination with Omniscience*,—we cannot suppress some feeling of gratification, on finding that the opinions of Mr. Newman appear to be in perfect harmony with certain statements offered in this Journal on a former occasion. And we possibly may stand excused, if we venture, once more, to solicit the attention of our readers to the following words then used by us, with reference to the same mysterious subject.

"The difficulty will be much reduced by the recollection that various perplexing phenomena might be expected to result from the assumption of humanity by a superior nature, whether supremely divine or not. A man is a person compounded of a body and a reasonable soul: and we all know what a multitude of inexplicable results arise out of that coalition. 'The Son of Man' was a person formed by the combination of the divine Logos, a human soul, and a human body. It might be concluded beforehand, that such a coalition must be productive of appearances still more profoundly mysterious and inexplicable. We are familiar with the ebbs and flows of memory, with the occasional eclipses of mind, to which mere human beings are liable. They are such as would hardly have been anticipated, and cannot be explained; and yet they lead very few to question the real combination of two dissimilar principles in the human individual. Why then should we be staggered at the want of a constant and equable manifestation of the highest principle in the Person of Christ? If any superhuman intellect or spirit were to take the human nature into coalition with itself, it would not follow, surely, that the superior nature *must* inform the lower with perpetual and equal intensity. Why then should we be overpowered on finding that the stores of divine knowledge and wisdom were manifested in the Person, Jesus Christ, in such measures, and on such occasions, as might be conformable to the designs of the Godhead?"—*British Critic for July 1826*, pp. 290, 291.

This twelfth Sermon closes with some sentences, which, we greatly apprehend, will wear something of a hard ungracious aspect, in the eyes of certain incautious adventurers in religious speculation. Mr. Newman is speaking of those, who, influenced by the prevalent theology of late centuries, "have well nigh ceased to regard " Christ, after the pattern of the Nicene creed, as God from God, " and Light from Light, ever one with Him, yet ever separate from " Him." Of such he feels himself compelled to say, in the language of ancient theology, that " they begin by being Sabellians; that " they go on to be Nestorians; and that they tend to be Ebionites,

"and deny Christ's Divinity altogether. Meanwhile," he adds, "the religious world little thinks whither its opinions are leading; and will not discover that it is adoring a mere abstract name or a vague creation of the mind for the Ever-living Son, till the defection of its members from the faith startle it, and teach it that the so-called religion of the heart, without orthodoxy of doctrine, is but the warmth of a corpse, real for a time, but sure to fail.

"How long will that complicated Error last under which our Church now labours? How long are human traditions of modern date, to obscure, in so many ways, the majestic interpretations of Holy Writ which the Church Catholic has inherited from the age of the Apostles? When shall we be content to enjoy the wisdom and the pureness which Christ has bequeathed to His Church as a perpetual gift, instead of attempting to draw our creed, each for himself, as he best may, from the deep wells of truth? Surely in vain have we escaped from the errors of Rome, if the worse, because the more subtle, corruptions of a rash and self-trusting philosophy spread over our faith."—pp. 186, 187. +

We know not how these words will be endured by those, who seem to have no capacity for the perception of any dangers, either to Church or State, except those which are rushing in from Rome! And yet we have the hardihood to confess, that we are very much of Mr. Newman's mind. Rome, it is true, is, at this moment, assuming a very formidable attitude. Her theology is not content with prowling about, in cautious secrecy, seeking whom it may devour. It is putting on the guise of an armed Doctrine. It is menacing the integrity of the Empire, and maddening its disciples with a thirst for Protestant blood. These, doubtless, are tremendous evils. But these evils will be aggravated, beyond all computation, if the fear of them shall inflict upon us a judicial blindness to all other perils; if they shall leave us neither eyes to see, nor ears to hear, when sober-minded and self-collected men are warning us against the mischiefs which will be lying in ambush for us, if we rush insanely to opposite extremities of error. The corruptions of Rome are hideously bad: but the unbridled exercise of private judgment may likewise bring with it a "rank infection,"—a festering plague,—which shall permanently undermine our health and strength. The wrath of Rome is cruel, and her hatred bitter. But the very spirit of anarchy and havoc lies hid beneath the form of that licentious Philosophy, which is now holding her own cup of enchantment to the lips of all sorts and conditions of men. And, as the crown and consummation of the terrors which beset us, there seems to be an unnatural, and most unhallowed League and Covenant struck up, for the time, between

these two formerly belligerent Powers, which reminds us of the agreement between Pilate and Herod. How awful, then, must be the infatuation which sees in the abominations of Romanism the only *mystery of iniquity* from which either the Church or the Constitution has any thing to dread.

We now pass on to a very different topic. The men of heathen antiquity held that, in critical times, neutrality was infamous. Mr. Newman, as a Christian teacher, maintains that, in similar circumstances, neutrality is sinful. And if any should be led to conclude from this statement that the Christian teacher is a *political parson*, let him listen to Mr. Newman himself :

"My brethren, I must not venture to keep silence in respect to a province of Christian duty, in which men are especially tried at this day, and in which they especially fail.

"It is sometimes said that religion is not (what is called) political. Now there is a bad sense of the word "political," and religion is nothing that is bad. But there is also a good sense of the word, and in this sense whoever says that religion is not political, speaks as erringly, and (whether ignorantly or not,) offends with his tongue as certainly, as if in St. Paul's time a man had said it mattered not whether he was Christian or heathen ; for what the question of Christian or no Christian was in the Apostle's day, such are questions of politics now. It is as right to take one side and as wrong to take the other, now, in that multitude of matters which comes before us of a social nature, as it was right to become a Christian in St. Paul's day, and wrong to remain a heathen.

"I am not saying *which* side is right and which is wrong, in the ever-varying course of social duty, much less am I saying all religious people are on one side, and all irreligious on the other ; (for then would that division between good and evil take place, which the text and other parables assure us is not to be till the day of judgment,) I only say there is a right and a wrong, that it is not a matter of indifference which side a man takes, that a man will be judged hereafter for the side he takes.

"When a man (for instance) says that he takes part against the King or against the Church, because he thinks kingly power or established Churches contrary to Scripture, I think him as far from the truth as light is from darkness ; but I understand him. He takes a religious ground, and, whatever I may think of his doctrine, I honour him for that. I had rather he should take a religious ground (if in sincerity) and be against the Church, than a worldly selfish ground, and be for it ; that is, if done in earnest, not in pretence, I think it speaks more hopefully for his soul. I had rather the Church were levelled to the ground by a nation, really, honestly, and seriously thinking they did God service in doing so, (great as the sin would be,) than that it should be upheld by a nation on the *mere* ground of maintaining property ; for I think this a much greater sin. I think that the worshipper of mammon will be in worse case before Christ's judgment-seat than the mistaken zealot. If a man must be one or the other (though he ought to be neither), but if I must choose for him, I had rather he should be Saul raging like a

wild beast against the Church, than Gallio caring for none of these things, or Demas loving the present world, or Simon trafficking with sacred gifts, or Ananias grudging Christ his substance, and seeking to be saved as cheaply as possible. There would be more chance of such a man's conversion to the truth; and, if not converted, less punishment reserved for him at the last day."—pp. 231—233.

These, at least, are not the words of bigotry or enthusiasm. They are words of soberness, and truth, and magnanimous integrity. That they are, also, the words of candour and of charity, will be further manifest from the sentences which follow:

"Men, however, generally act from mixed motives; so I do not mean that they are at once in a fearful peril for having some regard to the security of property, while they defend what is called the Church established;—far from it, though I still think it would be better if the thought of religion absorbed all other considerations:—but I am speaking against an avowed doctrine maintained in this day, that religion has nothing to do with political matters; which will not be true till it is true that God does not govern the world: for as God rules in human affairs, so must his servants obey in them. And what we have to fear more than any thing else at this time is, that persons who are sound on this point, and do believe that the concerns of the nation ought to be carried on upon religious principles, should be afraid to avow it, and should ally themselves, *without protesting*, with those who deny it; lest they should keep their own opinion to themselves, and act with the kindred of Gallio, Demas, Simon, and Ananias, on some mere secular basis, the mere defence of property, the security of our institutions, considered merely as secular, the maintenance of our national greatness;—forgetting that, as no man can serve two masters, God and Mammon, so no man can at once be in the counsels of the servants of the two;—forgetting that the Church, in which they and others are, is a net gathering of *every* kind; that it is no proof that others are to be followed and supported in all things, because they happen to be in it, and profess attachment to it; and that though we are bound to associate in a general way with all, (except, indeed, such as openly break the rules of the Church, heretics, drunkards, evil livers, and the like, who ought, of course, to be put out of it,) yet we are not bound to countenance all in all they do, and are ever bound to oppose bad principles,—bound to attempt to raise the standard of faith and obedience in that multitude of men whom, though we disapprove in many respects, we dare not affirm to be entirely destitute of the life of the Holy Ghost, and not to suffer friend or stranger to take part against the truth, without warning him of it according to our opportunities."—pp. 233, 234.

We have here the truly Christian doctrine that men are bound to lift up a courageous testimony in behalf of what is right: but we have nothing that tends to the encouragement of a turbulent and factious spirit; nothing that can help to convert the minister of the pulpit himself, or any one of his flock, into the orator of

the hustings. And O! what a glorious accumulation of strength would accrue to the cause of righteousness and holiness among us, if every man, in his own position, would but quietly testify against the ungodliness which is threatening to undo us! Of all the odious and disgusting phenomena in the creation, nothing can be much more revolting, than the apparition of a shovel-hatted man, loud and noisy in places of public concourse and debate. But, on the other hand, of all the symptoms of a sound and healthy state of the public mind, few can be more animating, than the spectacle of a sedate, saint-like, patriarchal Christian, never ambitiously stirring beyond his own sphere,—but, within that sphere, ready at all times to protest against every thought or word that lifts itself up in opposition to the truth of God,—and, consequently, in opposition to the peace, and the prosperity, and the stability of his country!

The sixteenth sermon deserves to be attentively studied. It relates to a subject which has been much perplexed by injudicious phraseology. We often hear much of the *invisible* Church, as distinguished from the *visible*. Now this we hold to be a *distinction* which tends to nothing but *confusion*. There is no warrant in Scripture for any such discrimination. The terms *visible* and *invisible* are, indeed, legitimate enough, if used for no other purpose, but to exhibit the one Catholic Church, under different aspects. But it is well known that they are frequently used for a purpose very different from this. They are misapplied in a manner which, most presumptuously, anticipates the result of the general judgment. We have, ourselves, occasionally protested against this unwarranted separation of Christendom into two manner of people,—those who are Christians, and those who are no more entitled to the name than so many “Salvages, or men of Ind.” And we now, very gladly, refer our readers to Mr. Newman’s exposition of the matter; albeit it contains some sayings which, peradventure, certain of the brethren may find hard to be received. Even the following words of solemn admonition, for aught we know, will appear to many like counsellors to superstition, and, perhaps, to priestcraft.

“But if these things be so, if the Church visible really has invisible privileges, what must we think, my brethren, of the general spirit of this day, which looks upon the Church as but a civil institution, a creation and a portion of the state? What shall be thought of the notion that it depends upon the breath of princes, or upon the enactments of human law? What, again, shall be thought of those who fiercely and rancorously oppose and revile what is really an ordinance of God, and the place where his honour dwelleth? Even to the Jewish priesthood after the blood of the Redeemer was upon it, even to it St. Paul deferred,

signifying that God's high priest was not to be reviled ; and if so, surely much less the rulers of a branch of the Church, which, whatever have been its sins in time past, yet is surely innocent (as we humbly and fervently trust) of any inexpiable crime. Moreover, what an unworthy part they act, who, knowing and confessing the real claims of the Church, yet allow them to be lightly treated and forgotten, without uttering a word in their behalf ; who, from secular policy, or other insufficient reason, bear to hear our spiritual rulers treated as mere civil functionaries, without instructing or protesting against or foregoing intimacy with those who despise them, nay, even co-operating with them cordially, as if they could serve two masters, Christ and the world ! And how melancholy is the general spectacle in this day of ignorance, doubt, perplexity, misbelief, perverseness, on the subject of this great doctrine, to say nothing of the jealousy, hatred, and unbelieving spirit with which the Church is regarded. Surely, thus much we are forced to grant, that, be the privileges vested in the Church what they may, yet, at present, they are, as to their full fruits, suspended in our branch of it by our present want of faith ; nor can we expect that the glories of Christ's Kingdom will again be manifested in it, till we repent, confess ' our offences and the offences of our forefathers ;' and, instead of trusting to an arm of flesh, claim for the Church what God has given it, for Christ's sake, ' whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear.'"—pp. 255, 256.

The seventeenth is a sequel to the former, on the same subject : and a glorious sermon it is ! We know not well how to describe its effect upon us, but by asking the reader whether, when travelling, in weariness, and painfulness, and solitude,—the light fading away, and the night thickening drearily upon him,—he has ever heard the deep and solemn music of the cathedral bell, and has felt his spirit soothed, and his strength renewed, by those heart-stirring intonations ? If he has, he may form some notion of the power of this sublime discourse, over a heart which is *wearied in the greatness of its way*, through the wilderness of this world ! It speaks of the *cloud of witnesses* which *encompass* the Christian pilgrim. It tells us of the invisible Church in Heaven, whose voice, to say the very least, should always be as audible, and clear, and full of comfort, to the way-faring believer on earth, as the voice of his tutelary goddess was to the much-enduring heathen. To that unseen Church we surely may exclaim, as he did to his protecting deity,—

ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας, φιλάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς ἐνμαθές σου, κἄν ΑΠΟΠΤΟΣ ᾦς ὄμωας,
φώνημ' ἀκούω, καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενί,
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικής.

Mr. Newman's volume closes with a very interesting and impressive Discourse on the *Intermediate State*. He is decidedly opposed to the belief that the departed souls literally *fall asleep*,

and so remain until the day of judgment. He conceives, indeed, that they are in an incomplete state; but, nevertheless, in a state of *rest*. They are incomplete, inasmuch as their bodies are in the dust, awaiting the Resurrection. They are incomplete, as being neither wholly asleep, nor wholly awake. But still they are in security and peace,—in a condition which excludes suffering, and even admits of positive comfort. And he, further, imagines it to be by no means impossible that the intermediate period may be the appointed season for bringing to maturity and mellowness, the fruits of holiness, imperfectly ripened in the ungenial and wintry climate of this world. “Who can tell,” he asks, “but, in God’s mercy, the time of waiting between death and Christ’s coming, may be profitable to those who have been his true servants here, as a time of maturing that fruit of grace, but partly formed in them in this life; a school-time of contemplation,—as this world is of discipline, of active service? Such, surely, is the force of the Apostle’s words, that He that hath begun a good work in us, will perform it, *until* the day of Christ,—*until*, not *at*,—not stopping at death, but carrying it on to the Resurrection.”

We cannot take upon ourselves to contend for these views as irresistibly conclusive. Thus much, however, we can say,—that they appear to us to offer nothing at all at variance with the scheme of our salvation. By those, indeed, who maintain Christian perfection as a thing of *necessary*, or at least of *possible*, attainment, “in the time of this mortal life,”—these notions will, of course, be indignantly rejected. To others, who entertain no such doctrine, the reverent conjectures of Mr. Newman must appear, at least, to be soothing and consolatory. If we all, without exception, die with our work unfinished,—if there be much of untamed evil still cleaving even unto them who, all their lives long, have chastened themselves, and have been striving after perfect holiness, in the fear of God,—then must it be pleasing to think of a season of repose; in which, whatever yet remains of imperfection shall be,—not violently driven off by the action of penal fires,—but, rather, gently disengaged by a process of hallowed and peaceful meditation,—by a course of holy thought, and heaven-ward desire, no longer interrupted by the “solicitations” of the flesh.

“And all this,”—adds Mr. Newman,—“accounts for what else may surprise us,—the especial stress the Apostles lay on the coming of Christ, as the object to which our hope must be directed. We are used in this day to look upon death as the point of victory and triumph for the Saints;—we leave the thought of them when life is over, as if then there was nothing more to be anxious about; nor in one sense is there. Then

they are secure from trial, from falling; as they die, so they remain. Still, it will be found, on the whole, that death is not *the* object put forward in Scripture for hope to rest upon, but the *coming of Christ*, as if the interval between death and His coming was by no means to be omitted in the process of our preparation for heaven. Now, if the sacred writers uniformly hold out Christ's coming, but we consider death as the close of all things, is it not plain that, in spite of our apparent agreement with them in formal statements of doctrine, there must be some hidden and undetected difference between them and ourselves, some unfounded notion on our part which we have inherited, some assumed premises, some lurking prejudice, some earthly temper, or some mere human principle."—p. 411, 412.

It certainly is a most remarkable circumstance, that our hortatory theology should so long have lost sight of the scriptural peculiarity here adverted to by Mr. Newman. Death seems to have been, in the estimation of the sacred writers, a crisis scarcely of sufficient importance to arrest their serious attention. It does not appear as if their thoughts paused, for a moment, at that point. To them, the grave was not a halting place in their journey. It was merely an open portal—a sort of triumphal arch—raised as it were in the suburbs of the heavenly city; through which they were to march on, towards its towers and battlements; and which scarcely intercepted its glories from their view. And the vision to which their eye was constantly directed, was,—not the cloud which hovered over some distant quarter in the path before them,—but the brightness which shone through it, from the throne of God. With us, on the contrary, the hour of death, and not the coming of Christ, is the rallying point for the solemn meditation of Christian men. We are perpetually reminded of the time, when "we must shuffle off this mortal coil;" as if the preparation for that one change were the grand object of our earthly probation. This stands in the foreground of the picture: while *the glorious appearing of our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ*, is removed into the dim and shadowy distance. There must, therefore, be something, if not positively wrong, yet strangely defective and unworthy, in our teaching, if it collects and concentrates our thoughts upon that crisis, which, in the reckoning of Apostles, and of Apostolic men, was of little more account, than the transition from childhood to youth,—from youth to manhood,—from manhood to old age. Doubtless, it is good that we should be reminded of the time when all our worldly thoughts and purposes must perish. But O! how much better would it be if our spirits sprung forward,—without stopping at that point,—at once into the presence of God, the judge of all, and of Christ, the mediator of the New Covenant, and of the general Assembly and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven! For thus would the Prince

of this world be most effectually stripped of his dominion, and death be rifled of his sting, and the grave be divested of its victory.

We have sufficiently shown that, in our judgment, the charge of a propensity to Romanism, with which Mr. Newman has been assailed, is nothing more or less than the result of a chimerical and panic terror. It would be just about as reasonable, to suspect him of secret and traitorous collusion with the Jesuits! Nevertheless, we trust that he will freely forgive us, if we venture to point out one or two expressions, in this volume, which, although he means not so, will probably help to give currency to this surmise. For instance—in Sermon xxi. in speaking of those who are hindered, by infirmity or age, from joining in the Daily Service of public prayer, he asks—“Shall they not, though absent in the body, yet be with their minister in spirit. Shall not their prayers unite in one before the Mercy Seat, sprinkled with the atoning blood, as a pure offering of incense unto the Father, and a *propitiation* both for the world of sinners, and for his purchased Church.” Now, we have very little doubt, that there are persons, who, on hearing these words, will be ready almost to stop their ears, and to rend their garments, and to cast dust into the air. In us, these words produce no such commotion: because we know that they are capable of an innocent and blameless construction; and that nothing is more distant from the mind of Mr. Newman than the thought of investing human intercession with a propitiatory virtue, such as belongs to none but to the Redeemer himself. Still, we would respectfully submit to him, whether it would not be better to avoid expressions, so likely to invite perversion, and to inflict offence and pain.

If any alarm should be excited by the passage above produced, it will hardly be much mitigated by the following; in which, after exhibiting, with fervid eloquence, the privileges of the Christian,—not considered, personally, as he is in himself, but as a member of Christ, and a child of God,—he affirms, that “he is, plainly, in his fitting place, where he intercedes. He is made after the pattern of Christ. *He is what Christ is. Christ intercedes above, and he intercedes below.*” It must be needless to point out the effect which words like these may produce on minds which are agitated by feverish apprehension, lest the life and spirit of the Reformation should perish from among us.

Once more,—“In some unknown way, that place of rest,”—(the abode of the spirits of the Just in the intermediate state),—“has a communication with this world; so that disembodied souls know what is going on below.” Here, again, may be some occasion for restless and angry *searchings of heart!* The

Romish doctrine of the intercession of the Saints involves, of course, the belief of a *communication*, and a *knowledge*, similar to what is here insisted on by Mr. Newman. And, in controversy with the Romanists, it has frequently been asked, how the sainted spirits are to be cognizant of the thoughts, and words, and deeds, of their brethren of the Church militant here in earth. The reply given to that question, by many of the Romish Divines, is familiar to all. They conceive that things which pass in this world may be made known to disembodied souls by reflection from the face of God; or, to use their own language, from the Mirror of the Trinity (*Speculum Trinitatis*). Mr. Newman, we find, is prepared with a much more modest answer, in case he should be interrogated as to what manner of intercourse there can be between the inhabitants of the "place of rest," and them that are still in the flesh. He will be content to repeat, that "the way is unknown." But still, we doubt whether all this caution and reserve will be sufficient to pacify the keen and jealous vigilance which has posted its sentinels, at every point, against the assaults of the ancient superstition; or to protect the preacher against the suspicion of a dangerous sympathy with the corruptions, or the reveries, of the Romish Church.

It is not without the most unfeigned diffidence that we presume to offer these suggestions. The most advanced Christian, as Mr. Newman observes, is but a learner to the end of his days. And never do we feel the truth of that remark more deeply, than when our spirits are in conference with minds like his.

ART. VII.—*Letters on the Philosophy of Unbelief*. By the Rev. James Wills. London: Fellowes. 1835. 8vo. pp. 232.

"THE Philosophy of Unbelief," and "Philosophical Unbelief," in revealed religion, are not convertible terms. The former is the science of those causes, of which scepticism,—inclusive of all its multiform varieties, is the result—the latter is only one of those varieties.

We do not say that the author of these Letters was either unaware or lost sight of this distinction, during his preliminary analysis of unbelief in general; but from precipitancy in composition, or mental inaptitude for clear synthetical arrangement, he has failed to present it with sufficient prominence to his readers. This is deeply to be regretted; for this volume is written by a man of considerable originality and mental independence; and he will be wanting in the discharge of his duty to society if he does not re-address himself to the subject, throw it into a more logical and lucid order, and condescend to use a simplicity of style, which,

while essential to the perspicuous, is perfectly compatible with the profound.

During the remarks which we would submit upon the inquiry in this volume, we beg our readers to bear in mind the above distinction. We propose to arrange and canvass the author's views upon the Philosophy of Unbelief in general, and then (if we may be allowed the reiteration) upon the Philosophy of Philosophical Unbelief in particular.

It is evident that the process by which this investigation must be pursued is purely *analytical*. Scepticism, upon revealed religion, is to be found more or less in *all* minds, from the most confirmed infidel to the most satisfied believer. It may vary as the moral and mental peculiarities of mankind vary, but in its elementary essence it shows itself in the mind whose faith debates, hesitates, to accept only some one specific guarantee of Christianity, as well as in that which abjures them *all*. It is not the consequence of any singular intellectual conformation; it is universal. It may almost be classed among the instincts of human nature: men, all men, are as much predisposed, without reasoning on the claims of Scripture, to reject them, as they are predisposed, without reasoning, to gratify their physical propensions.

If for the proof of this we descended to detail, and classified men by their relative feelings towards the Gospel, we should refer not so much to its impugnors as to those who profess to be its friends: we should ask, Whence is it that the verities of the Christian Faith possess, over those who accredit them, an influence so little analogous with that which other truths are sure in a like case to exert? Whence is it that in general its objects—though so sublime and beautiful—awaken such disproportioned emotion, and that its principles—confessedly of unparalleled importance—command such disproportioned obedience? This is a phenomenon in human nature, from which we may justly draw an universal conclusion; for if minds the *best* disposed to Christianity nevertheless betray an original indisposition, how much more may that original indisposition be charged on those who totally reject her!

With this moral fact before us we commence our analysis, and we ask, What are the qualities of these two objects that are thus in opposition? What the elements of repulsion? What is there in revealed religion so uncongenial, so alien from man's tendencies, as to make him naturally shrink from contact with its truths? as certain animals instinctively project their feelers, and on coming in contact with an unfriendly object, as instinctively retract them. And if it can be detected that Revelation does disclose grounds for the human heart to fear; if it does attribute beauty and loveliness to forms whose moral colours and proportions, if esteemed, must

entail disgust upon the old objects of the heart's attachments; if it enjoins any efforts of self-conflict, such as self-denial,—such as spiritual toil,—then, since the heart does instinctively shrink from alarm, and from the cultivation of new tastes, and from self-denial, is there not ascertained the cause of which this predisposition to unbelief is the effect?

Now no one will deny that the Gospel advances the most solemn, humiliating, accusations upon *all* men, without exception; thereby charging them with enmity and ingratitude to a Being whom it clothes with attributes the most attractive and beneficent, and so places them at the antipodes to the “first good, first fair;” that it enforces these accusations with threats of evil, which it defies our limited powers to conceive either in extent or in duration; and that its advice, and offers, and proposed means of escape, require all man's dearest prejudices of pride, of present gratification, of indolence, to be *wholly* abjured. Is it not, then, obvious, *à priori*, that its proposal to man's notice must be followed by his revulsion? All its most distinguishing features are such as to preclude its being welcomed. And if we regard the universality of unbelief as a moral problem, is not this a solution?

It is possible that our position may be disputed by the objection—does not Christianity share this obnoxiousness to dislike in common with every other system of virtue, and, therefore, has she any right to arrogate to herself this preliminary guard against the consequences of her subsequent rejection? We answer confidently in the negative. No ethical system—not the most stern, rigid, unpleasing in its requisitions—not even Stoicism warring with the love of luxury and ease—ever proclaimed such severe and uncompromising hostility to those moral evils which it proposed to uproot. Even *she* could ally on her side the self-praise and the superiority above the slaves around that would follow upon her discipline. But the Gospel repudiates any such alliance; it demands humiliation and lowliness. The only original principle of which it avails itself is man's dread of danger; but every one knows that unless the danger be proximate, how fear,—the soul's storm,—is dashed, and broken, and spent, upon the objects that intervene.

We cannot too fully insist upon this noble disdain, shown by Revelation, to use any of man's false moral tendencies as her auxiliaries when she came among us. Even his love of happiness could not be her ally; for the bliss she promises is utterly barren of those sources in which he finds his corrupt gratification. No more can it be alleged that natural religion, (whose primitive truths obtain so universally that they may be ranked among innate principles,) nor that superstition, (that misty atmosphere of semi-

religion to which men at all times have been addicted,) assisted her; for the divinity of the natural religionist merely, is not the divinity of the Scriptures; the imaginary being of the former may have some of the attributes assigned by Revelation to the only living and true God, such as his power and his wisdom; but these are not so much regarded by the moral affections as are the additional attributes of holiness, and truth, and equity. The mind that might possibly indulge in sublime fancy respecting the one, would recoil from communion with the idea of the other. The soul that would suffer, nay, that would prefer, the object of his worship to be omnipotent and all-wise, so as proportionably to reflect dignity upon his service of adoration, would be very far from acquiescing in what on the contrary would reflect upon it fear, and shame, and penitence. And likewise with the superstitious;—all his feelings are vapid, impalpable, “melted into thin air;” but the feelings demanded by Revelation are clear in their outline and intelligible in their source.

It has been necessary thus largely to enter upon this first fact, ascertained in an analysis of unbelief in general, because our author has not given it sufficient attention. He has done but little more than appeal to our consciousness that there is such a contrariety between the original human affections and the moral appliances of the Gospel. He has not shown the *principle* of that contrariety. We deem it, however, of indispensable moment in the investigation. Christianity comes not to be a beautiful speculation, to harmonize, to be dovetailed with our previous moral theories; it is *sui generis*. And further, it comes as a remedy, a spiritual medicine. Immediately that it is applied it must either awaken morbid sensibility, the first shootings of which will be exquisitely painful, just as the first feelings of resuscitation are said even to surpass the agonies that preceded torpor; or it will cauterize. And as any observer would predict that the patient (unless persuaded of the ulterior benefit) would reject with abhorrence the remedies, may we predict that the diseased soul (who is always sceptical as to *its* ulterior benefit) would reject with abhorrence the Gospel.

The author has dwelt more upon a second peculiarity which he conceives to exist in man's original constitution. He says—

“From this predisposition of the affections, it would not be difficult to infer a proportionable predisposition of the understanding. But it is now my purpose to show that there is a predisposing cause in the constitution of the understanding itself, which, while it retards the assent of the mind to all facts which are merely to be deduced as inferences from reasoning, most peculiarly affects the understanding in its assent to spiritual truths.”

To this passage we ask our reader's particular attention, because, on account of it, we have to allege two grave charges against our author. The first is of injudicious *omission*; the second is of *error*.

As to *omission*: In a work professedly analytical of unbelief in general, as a *fact*,—he is no more justified in being comparatively indifferent to any important sequence, than he would be in neglecting it altogether. “It would not be difficult to *infer* a proportional predisposition of the understanding from this predisposition of the affections.” We perfectly agree with him, but why did he not prove this connection? It was essential to his drawing *any* inference whatever as it regards his general doctrine. For “unbelief” is merely a *sentiment* if it is solely the consequence of a certain state of the affections: but in order to its having the semblance of a *reason*, there must be a certain state of the understanding. In this relation we cannot with sufficient pertinacity contend for the reciprocal influences always existing between the intellect and the heart,—between man's passions and between man's creed. In the first place it is a *fact*—a *fact* proved by consciousness, by observation. In the second place it is the only argument for man's responsibility for his belief. Now man's affections are, we have already shown, enlisted against Christianity. Before he has pronounced a conclusion upon her claims to Revelation he *wishes*, *hopes* they may be “as the fabric of a vision.”—And the understanding at length discredits those claims,—whether cautiously or rashly it matters not for our purpose,—but it discredits them. In the science of the “Philosophy of Unbelief,” surely this ought to have a leading prominence. It is one of the most important links in the whole series. And should the author take our advice and re-compose this—in many respects invaluable volume—let him illustrate it by examples and analogies.

But we come now to the second charge of *error*: We perfectly accord to the truth of his assertions that “there is a predisposing cause in the constitution of the understanding itself, which retards the assent of the mind to all facts which are merely to be deduced as influences from reasoning.” This no one will be disposed to canvass. The perception of the senses is a more convincing proof than the most consecutive reasoning. The impression is deeper: man's whole being both of mind and body is convinced in the one case; his intellect only is convinced in the other case. Of course, therefore, we allow that he is much more ready to assent to facts of which he has evidences in his “perception and actual experience of consequences,”—than to facts established only by demonstrative argument. He believes much

more cordially in the every day occurrences of life, than in the remoter ones of abstract science. And confessedly, Revelation shares in the same disadvantage. But we are solemnly at issue with the author when he makes her disadvantage to be greater, and says that this predisposition of the understanding "most peculiarly affects its assent to *spiritual* truths." We see nothing to be gained by this gratuitous assertion. It is not true: and if true it would give the sceptic one of his most envenomed shafts against us. It would allow him thus to argue: Your Deity has *spontaneously, directly* implanted in my mind an element that *unfits* it for belief in the system he reveals. But over the laws that regulate my understanding I have no control. For *them* I am not responsible, though I am free to concede that I am responsible for the workings of my affections. Therefore my incredulity is to be resolved into this *created* inaptitude. But we say it is not true. All the facts revealed in Scripture are within the province of reason, if not within that of comprehension. "That nothing that is repugnant to the plain dictates of reason can claim belief is readily admitted, because impossibilities are not the objects of power, even supposing it to be infinite:—but the mysteries of the Gospel are not of this nature. They include, it is true, something which we cannot fully comprehend; but they contain nothing which the legitimate exercise of reason perceives to be absurd: they surpass the limits of reason without doing violence to its dictates."* Now Christianity has—in common with the abstract sciences—facts incomprehensible. She is under no greater disadvantage than they are as a system of demonstration. Our moral relations to her forebode before an examination, that she will be discredited: but, save and except the influence of those relations upon our intellectual ones, there is nothing native in the understanding to augur such a result. We challenge any system for better evidences either inductive or demonstrative.

In debating whether Christianity is to be believed or disbelieved, the understanding primarily enquires, can she authenticate her claims to Revelation? And this enquiry regards *external* evidences. Prove to me that *the Divinity* has disclosed her facts, her doctrines; let this one point be ascertained, and *then* I can rationally believe *whatever* he has disclosed. "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth;" but the matter of the communication is not to be the mark by which to identify the speaker. We are not disparaging the value of *internal* evidence: as a proof, it is cumulative upon external evidence; but it should never be the

* Hall's Works, vol. 5, p. 294.

foundation. Now we contend that there is no predisposing cause in the *constitution* of the understanding, which retards its assent more to the demonstrative evidences of Christianity, than to other abstract demonstrations. Both are based upon the same laws of human belief: they assume nothing: their inferences are most rigidly inductive and analogical: and so the intellect considered in its constitution is equally capable of arriving at true conclusions respecting them.

But even if we change our ground from the external evidence of Revelation, to its *matter*, we still maintain our position—that her truths are in no *peculiarly* disadvantageous relation to the understanding. *They* are truths of faith, unseen, intangible;—but so are all abstract truths. *They* belong to an economy which is confined *partly* to one world and *partly* to another, and so are proportionably practical: but many abstract truths of pure demonstration are not practical at all. *They* involve mysteries: so do *all* physical sciences. But here, the former have infinitely the advantage. *They*, the mysteries of the *other* world, may be unsupported by the remotest analogies of *this* world, but for aught we know they have innumerable analogies in *their own*:—not so, the converse.

So far we have shown that in the analysis of the History of Unbelief there is a predisposition of the affections against Christianity, and their influence upon the understanding—(though the understanding is a fit, unbiassed instrument in its own constitution)—destroys its impartiality.

We are painfully compelled to adduce another instance of the author's illogical arrangements. He contends that the influences of society upon each individual mind are sadly subsidiary to unbelief.

“Whatever may be the constitution of the mind, no one can hold a reasonable doubt, that the constitution of the social state is highly unfavourable to Revealed Religion. The beauty of its precepts, with their obviously beneficial tendency; together with the irrefragable force of its evidences, which are such as to be unassailable, without rejecting all the rules of right reason and common sense; these, with many other causes, operate to enforce from the world a formal assent, which may be considered as an involuntary tribute to truth, something analogous to that which vice is said to pay to virtue. The unbelief of the world is not speculative dissent, but practical indifference; and, were it an object worth while, might be deduced as a corollary from the principle already established: the social state is but a result from its constituent elements: society is but the aggregate of individuals; with, however, these attendant circumstances; that the collected influence of the whole operates on every part, and generates customs, maxims, opinions and impulses, which affect both the conduct and feeling of every individual. But first let us see as to the fact.

"Now for this, I must appeal to your experience, and ask whether it is not sufficiently obvious to admit of no doubt: That the whole social system is organized exclusively for the purposes of this life only; to favour its desires, and to forward its concerns. While the concerns of our future state are but indistinctly manifested within the sphere of sensation, and are made perceptible only to the inward eyes of reason and faith; the objects of this transitory state occupy every sense and feeling, and crowd the fore-ground of our existence. Thus it is quite apparent, that the affairs of commerce, law, and politics possess all the main arrangements of the world, and that ambition, avarice, taste, and the love of present enjoyment, with all the varied excitements they form, have their equally sovereign prevalence in the inner recesses of domestic life. I do not enter upon the question, as to the fitness or unfitness of this order of things; but merely state it as a fact, on which to found an inference."—pp. 18, 19.

And this "*inference*" is, that it deprives religion of that universal source of "habitual influence which flows from social tendency, and the established order of things. The conviction enforced by universal consent, the impulse of communicated feeling, these, while they encourage, prompt and sway men in every earthly pursuit, are utterly lost in this." All this in itself is admirable. It is perfectly *ad rem* in a discussion on "the Philosophy of Unbelief." It shows *one* of the many mighty forces, extraneous to the human mind, that bear in full current against Christian faith. The only fault is that the author calls it one of the "primary principles," and yet, with strange inconsistency, says, "*it might be deduced as a COROLLARY from the principle already established.*" We are not noticing this as a point merely of dialectical importance. It is one of those inaccuracies of distinction which make so much of the author's invaluable statement, often pointless, always obscure. A corollary, he knows as well as we do, is not a first principle. And if it were a first principle, then there are many other facts which would deserve the same classification: such as "the general tone of the literature, morals, and philosophy" in our different social systems. If the author had arranged the causes of unbelief into those which were *innate* and those which were *extraneous* to the mind, the line of demarcation would have been always discernible.

But we most gladly desist from the language of complaint. There is very much ground for commendation. The author having stated what he conceives to be "the first principles" which are at work unfavourably to Christianity in every mind, proceeds to trace "unbelief as a consequence from these principles."

"The Christian religion—though actually resting upon the very highest evidence that our understanding can receive, consistently with

the nature of the facts—is yet, for its general reception amongst men, quite independent of what is commonly meant by the term *proof*. The Gospel is received by the civilized world on that kind of moral evidence, which results from the fact that it is itself the real basis of the morals of civilized countries. I speak not here of that peculiar spiritual testimony, which it carries home to the Christian mind. It is also received on *the understanding* that it is supported by irrefragable proofs; which, though continually assailed, have still remained unshaken through so many ages: these proofs are supposed to subsist in the repositories of all solid truth that is known to mankind—ready to be produced when called for; and it is thus supposed by all persons of practical understanding, to rest on the consent of the united wisdom of past and present times; and finally, it is fixed by education amongst the earliest lessons of childhood. Thus, although the Gospel of Christ is effectively established upon the first principles of all right reason, the belief of the world is the *immediate* result of habit and education, and not of reasoning. It is a state of mind, and not an inference.”—pp. 26, 27.

This is indisputably true. Most frequently our analysis can detect no earlier incipient stages of religious inquiry. Our educational habits throw us, as it were, “*in medias res*” as it respects Christianity, and most of us partially, or at best, indistinctly, believe her, without any previous examination of her proofs. The first principle of the predisposition of the affections of which we have said so much, may produce only a weakness of faith: the progress towards scepticism may stop here. This, arising from many counteracting causes, is its half-neutralized force in most minds. Hence we may account for those different exhibitions of incredulity to be seen in the most devout as well as in the most negligent professor of the Gospel. But *some* minds are additionally accelerated towards “unbelief.”

“There are many, who from the character of their minds cannot acquiesce in the neutral state of indistinct belief. They will seek relief, some in prayer and sacred study, some from forgetfulness, some from reason, and some from sophistry. The case, when once agitated, is not one of indifference; it is a trial between conscience and all the passions—between the world, which speaks with strong allurements to every outward sense, and an inbred and vague conviction which appeals to none.”

And now extraneous causes begin to operate. *Here*—(the place in which the author ought to have introduced it)—the secularizing influences of the social system show themselves. In the mental struggle there is only imperfect, unintelligent credence in Revelation,—defending itself against the corrupt tendencies of the heart, against worldly pursuits and attractions, against evil examples, against habits. Unfair fight! Driven to extremities, the mind *begins* now, in her lassitude, to examine Christianity. It will most probably *invert* the order of investigation for which we

have contended, and omitting proofs of *the authenticity* of the Scriptures, commences on debate and speculation as to her *doctrines*. The following passage is, we think, profoundly true :

“ If instead of taking refuge either in prayer and the ordinary means of divine grace, or in the serious study of the actual evidences of Christianity, (a course rarely followed,) the sceptically disposed person has recourse to those casual appeals to reason, which often characterize the progress of unbelief, it is at first sight apparent that, in the case assumed, *the true question* cannot be said to be before the mind. The true question relates to the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures ; the actual question in the unbeliever’s mind, to the possibility, reason, meaning, and operation of their facts and doctrines. This would, of itself, determine the result ; for, whatever might be the conclusion of such speculations, no degree of fitness or sufficiency, *perceivable by the human understanding*, can of itself convey to an unwilling mind the demonstrative evidence of divine original. The unbeliever is not, however, likely to come to such sane conclusions. Such speculations, even were they conducted by the profoundest genius, must of course tend to produce but error and uncertainty. In the repetition of these fruitless questions, the sceptical sense must necessarily acquire the force of habit ; and *repeated failure generate increasing doubt*, while it also excites added reluctance and dislike. The question is, therefore, at each successive trial, more cursorily dismissed and less fairly stated. The very same processes, moral, mental, and social, which lead to the question, tend effectually to unfit the mind for its discussion. For as the truth of God is opposed to the habitual tendencies of the unbeliever, the first principles of his reasonings are in themselves likely to be fallacious ; and this the more, as one of the most common errors of men is a voluntary self-sophistication, for the purpose of suppressing conscience, and to promote a favourite tendency. Thus by slow degrees, perhaps, but at last, the unbeliever shall have entrenched his understanding in a set of principles, *themselves the results of unbelief*. Meanwhile the primary causes still operate with incessant force to accelerate this course. The vicious affection alienates the mind ; the treacherous reason misleads it ; and the noiseless yet vast force of the public mind, as it enforces discretion and sanctions indifference, still confirms it in each new stage. After some vain efforts, therefore, to bring down heavenly things to the dark level of human sight, and to look with purblind eye into the mind of Infinite Wisdom, the understanding is deprived of those actual perceptions, with which it was constituted for the purpose of true religion ; the heart becomes hardened, darkened, and alienated ; and unspiritual desires acquire sanction and authority until at last *doubt itself becomes a habit*, and inseparably associated with religion in the heart. The direct consequence must at last be the abandonment of all serious thoughts upon the subject. This is the last stage to which unbelief ordinarily arrives—the continued cessation of thought upon the subject ; which thus, not being maintained by either feelings, sentiments, actions, reflections, or facts, loses all traces of existence in the thoughts. Such is a summary view of the operations which lead to unbelief.”—p. 33—36.

We have quoted the above paragraph because it is indeed a most satisfactory summary. It carries us to the extremes of scepticism. And thus our readers will perceive that the *general* analysis of unbelief terminates.

All inquiries as to its various forms in the sincere Christian, in the formal professor, in the superstitious, in the heretic, in the deist, in the atheist;—all inquiries into its development in the illiterate or the philosopher, in the debased slave of sense or the intellectually speculative,—are evidently *subdivisions*. But the author now insensibly passes into an investigation of “Philosophical Unbelief,” as if it included *en masse* all the others. He proceeds to consider “primary objections” to Christianity, which, he says, “have their immediate source in the natural constitution of the mind, and being, therefore, independent of the inventions of sophistry, to a great extent, common to all minds.” Now, what do our readers suppose are these primary unsophisticated, almost axiomatic objections?—objections so simple, so obvious, that *all* minds, from the nature of their constitution, intuitively urge them? Let us hear: 1. That no one believes. 2. That it is impossible to believe. 3. That there is no proof of revealed religion. 4. That there can be none. In all honesty we declare that we dislike assailing our author in this manner: because his classification of objections is so just, so perfect. But every one must instantly perceive that they are *bonâ fide*, exclusively, *philosophical* objections; they belong solely to that department of unbelief. Our author must have a much higher opinion of the generality of human intellects than we have, for him to suppose that objections, the *first* founded upon a professedly enlarged observation of mankind; the *second*, upon the laws which regulate human credence; the *third*, upon an examination and refutation of *all* the evidences of Christianity; and the *fourth*, upon the comparative merits of approximating probabilities and direct demonstrations, that objections such as these, involving all mental and physical philosophy, enter spontaneously into *all* minds, whatever their various power and attainment. If we need an example, we should like to submit to some tolerably well-educated men, the succeeding chapters of this book, in which, in so conclusive and masterly a manner, the author has explained and refuted these objections, and instead of being able to understand their texts in limine, we are sure they would not (such a tax are they upon thought and learning,) understand even their explanations.

We have said this is a most masterly classification of the objections of “Philosophical Unbelief.”—Severally taken, they form the basis of the arguments which the sceptic draws from history,

or from physics. We have seen that the author has enumerated *four*: and we fear not being thought fanciful in asserting that each in their order distinguished,—the one, Gibbon, in the poison which he drew from his historical associations; the other, Hume, in his Metaphysical Pyrrhonism; the third, Voltaire, in his unblushing deafness to conviction; and the last, Laplace, in his supreme and exclusive faith in the exact sciences. We would call these each the representative of his class. Now true analysis requires that some such particular minds as these should be examined as to their individual history;—and that the causes which entered into the formation of their characters, should, as far as possible, be ascertained;—with this point, meanwhile, being steadily proposed for discovery,—whether in those characters there were any marked *moral* affinities with unbelief.

This more microscopic dissection of some few species would still maintain an unity of design with the former analysis of mind at large,—as the genus. For again we would assert, that as science appertains to *causes*,—if our author would attribute such a name or a synonymous one to his inquiry,—his prime attention must be to the *origin* of his facts. This he has not done. The second part of this volume is rather a discussion of the above objections. We shall therefore endeavour to supply his deficiency, with the hope that, as our space limits us so much to hints, he will avail himself of them in some future and more extensive discussion.

There is but little difficulty in accounting for the scepticism of Gibbon. Neglected in his early education, he was left to his own capricious studies with a liberty most unpropitious to habits of disciplined and cautious discrimination. His family politics were rashly identified in his mind with their party's favourite religion—the Roman Catholic,—and he became an easy convert to her communion. Exiled to Switzerland by his enraged Protestant father, and teasingly beset by the arguments of the good pasteur, his preceptor,—he, with as much versatility, abjured his new creed, and purchased paternal forgiveness by apostacy. What, then, must have been the state of this young man's feelings towards Christianity in all or any shape,—who, having, as he himself says, “childishly revolted against the religion of his country,” was subjected to a process of reconversion, coûte qu’il coûte?

In one of his tutor's letters to the father—all of which ludicrously resemble the reports which a metallic refiner may be supposed to give of the progress of transmutation—he says of the recreant son:

“Monsieur—Votre fils avoit entièrement renoncé aux fausses idées qu’il avoit embrassées; mais il a fallu disputer le *terrein pié à pié*, et je

n'ai pas trouvé en lui un homme léger, et qui passe rapidement d'un sentiment à un autre. Souvent après avoir détruit toutes ses idées sur un article de manière qu'il n'avoit rien à repliquer, ce qu'il avouoit sans détour, il me disoit qu'il ne croioit pas, qu'il n'y eut rien à me répondre."

Is it to be wondered that this hourly torment induced in the pupil a disgust towards religion altogether? and that, in consequence, he was well prepared to retaliate upon a subject for which he had incurred exile and remorseless wrangling, and loss of self-respect, and the shame of a second tergiversation? It was with this predisposition he commenced his historical inquiries. They were first directed to the age when Christianity was in a transition stage from primitive simplicity and incorruptness to rapid deterioration. When he commenced, the plague-spot was scarcely discernible upon her cheek: but his studies forced his gaze upon her, while the flush deepened, and fever and lassitude, and delirium and noisomeness, succeeded. Was it to be expected that Gibbon—already so prejudiced—would do ought than gloat upon these deformities? And it was so. The worldliness, the speculation, the vices of the Christian priesthood; the hypocrisy, and worse than Pagan profligacy of many of the Christian Emperors;—confessors of the faith adjusting their varying creeds to all points of the compass, to catch the day's gale;—the rivalries, the jealousies, the cruelties of sects;—with these sad facts he was compelled to hold daily communion. And he thence inferred the Church's universal insincerity. The disagreement between the faith and practice of the Christian community made him virtually, if not avowedly, draw the first objection: "*That no one believes.*"

The author of the letters before us confines himself to the abstract value of the argument, "that professed believers of the Gospel show their insincerity by their conduct: therefore, no one believes." We have no doubt that sceptical minds of the commonest order, often justify themselves in their infidelity by the individual cases of spiritual delinquency which they see around them: but the inference combatted by Mr. Wills is drawn from an enlarged, though false estimate of the Christian community. This requires a knowledge of general and comparative history. It is therefore a philosophical objection.

To his incredulous friend he writes:

"In stating this objection, you are in the habit of dwelling with much force upon the facts and awful sanctions of revealed religion, and inferring the effect which the knowledge of such things should have upon the conduct and feelings. In this there is a complication of errors—first, as to the kind of knowledge which human beings are capable of possessing, of the ultimate ends of religion; secondly, the effect of a state of mind of which you have no experience; thirdly, a mistake as to the actual

nature of the conduct required ; and fourthly, an unfair evasion of facts which *directly* overthrow your proposition.”—p. 99.

We shall not stop here to show that a rejoinder, so unconciliatory, is very unlikely to convince. It contains a still greater deficiency.—An answer to an objection that depends upon *overt* facts for its proofs, should discuss those facts. It is perfectly futile, in reply to an Infidel who is pointing to a grave crime in a Believer, to say, ‘*He* has a state of mind of which you have no experience : and with that state of mind, constituting, as it does, true piety,—an act of backsliding is not impossible.’ What a pointless refutation ! It may be a truth,—but it does not grapple with its opponent,—front to front : it does not seize its sinewy arms, strive to unnerve their tension, and interlock its limbs. Seriously,—in wrestling with a *fact*, we must either unmask or overthrow it. It will not avail to refer the questioner to regeneration of the heart as introducing a new moral element which contends with, but does not immediately destroy the older ones. It will not avail to assert that, in the fight, the old tenants of the soul, though besieged, will sometimes surprise its beleaguers in a sortie. The objector says,—‘Is your Christian creed a practical one, or is it not ? If it is, then no one has ever honestly adopted it, for no one has ever yielded to its requisitions.’ Now, surely, this does not require us to take refuge in the invisible realities of spiritual religion : it does not require us to shield ourselves in the retort, ‘you are speaking of a subject upon which you are wholly ignorant.’ Our object is to *convince* him : but is the mind taught a subject by being insulted for its ignorance ?

We would, therefore, have our author meet the objector upon his own ground. Though thousands of her disciples have been stained by crimes most odious and contemptible ;—though many a page of her annals is marked by treachery and blood ;—though in guiltiest sacrilege her professors have often “thought the Deity such an one as themselves,” thereby to stamp, with the sanction of omnipotence, the frailties of the heart ;—still let us point to facts which redeem, nay more than redeem ;—facts of the moral power of the Christian faith, so pure, so unparalleled, as shall be proofs that *some* have and *do* believe.

Now what are those *facts* ? In the general we affirm that Christianity and human amelioration have ever been coincident. It has been “the salt of the earth” considering society in the aggregate. We dare the objector to contrast the morals and virtues of the most refined Pagan age with those of the most unscrupulous of Christian corruption. We of course concede that there may have been some individual enormities committed under the cloak of religion, as flagrant as any during the unblushing

openness of Heathenism. But in the aggregate, in the sum total of the moral results, we dare him to the contrast. We are quite aware that he will strive to smile with philosophical contempt at our declamation when we challenge him to a comparison of the practical consequences of Christianity with the practical consequences of Atheism, in the *great* experiment of their comparative values, the French Revolution. That age possessed all the knowledge, all the mutual charities, all the refinement which, few though some would call them, it owed entirely to Christianity. Infidelity had not to work upon the obtuse sottishness and harsh vices of barbarism; yet on this favoured soil what was the effect of her cultivation? Were there ever crimes so black, or cruelties so insensible? The recesses of the Inquisition may have witnessed scenes equally appalling: but to this, as a more than off-set, we may place the general workings of our faith. This was a sad exception. But in the opposite case—the only genuine instance of the operation of the most enlightened infidelity—the instance to which there hath been no exception, was one in which men of refined taste were brutalized; in which men of unbending independence became slaves; in which all the domestic affections were eclipsed in mutual jealousies and lusts; and the day on which issued forth the solemn proclamation, “there is no God,” witnessed a moral darkness paralleled only by the darkness when at the cross there issued the proclamation, “there is no God incarnate.” This *general* fact disproves the objection “that no one believes” Christianity. The faith that had hitherto restrained those excesses which broke forth upon its renunciation might have been imperfect in its admissions and deteriorated by its spirit of indifference; still in a degree it *was* faith, and this is sufficient to overthrow our assailant.

But when we come to a *particular* enumeration of facts, we feel our argument still more conclusive. Has well authenticated history no examples of the purest influences of our faith? Have we had none—both those whom prolonged but fatal pain, and those whom distilled, condensed suffering, have ennobled as sincere confessors of the Saviour? If we pass over the facts (for we are prepared to show *they* are facts) of the perfect virtue of our divine teacher, and the irreproachable honesty of his Apostles,—surely we have nevertheless documents of sincerity in their followers. It is here to be remarked, that their *sincerity* is now with our objector the point of dispute. As a proof, he must be *insane* if nothing short of perfection will satisfy him. And we ask him to attend with us some martyr's stake, to watch his voluntary abandonment of wealth, of friendship and of love;—we ask him to follow him as he welcomes the pyre or the falchion, and to tell

us, be his belief well-grounded or not, yet hath he not given proofs of his *sincerity*?

Our reasoning will be most indecisive if it is not borne in mind that the accusation is, "that no one believes," and the arguments by which it is supported is the discrepancy between the Christian's creed and practice. There is a more abstract and perhaps more philosophical answer than our former method of reply, viz. that sincerity of opinion when placed in collision with opposing forces, may be *silenced* though not corrupted; that the believer's creed is a solitary principle in the midst of a host of hostile tendencies—and that the occasional developement of any of these tendencies is only one of the common inconsistencies of human nature.

We subjoin, not as an answer to the sceptic but for the purpose of satisfying the true Christian who may be agitated by this debate, the following passage from our author:—

"But you ask, will he (the Christian) still be capable of wickedness and worldliness? I reply, he will be but according to the strength he receives. It is the office of divine grace to impart good counsels and holy desires; to convince the heart of sin; to awaken faith, dependence on the Redeemer, self distrust, humility, thankfulness, love, and charity in all its comprehensive sense as described by St. Paul (Cor. xiii.) But the elements of human nature still remain. The Christian is yet subject to temptation, and of course liable to both error and sin. His conversion to God is not instantaneous, but gradual; and often slow, and marked by the peculiarities of natural character. It is so ordered, that before his faith is made perfect it is liable to be schooled by many trials, which form the condition of that state in which he has been not undesignedly placed. Thus then he may from time to time appear slack in his spiritual progress, and to some extent conformed to the world. The strife between the spirit and the flesh must begin, and be more or less apparent; but the result is a change of heart, which advances with an accelerated progress. The beginning of this progress may exhibit to human eyes a doubtful character—one not freed from the bondage of the world, though aiming at something beyond it. But from this warfare his character will surely emerge into one of less questionable sanctity. Such a progress, and such a modification of character, are both indicated in the inspired writings, and exemplified in the lives of many virtuous and spiritual Christians; in whom the moral elements of our nature are cleansed, enlightened, and restored by the continued operation of the spirit of God." —pp. 107, 108.

So much for the first division of philosophical believers. The *second* we must classify as objectors to Christianity upon the ground "*that it is impossible to believe.*" This assertion is the sceptic's conclusion after a professed examination of *all* the laws which regulate human credence. The *impossibility* of believing a particular proposition must follow either upon the *nature* of that

proposition itself (not upon the nature of its evidences), or upon the nature of the mind from whom the belief is exacted. If it is an unreasonable, an absurd one, it is impossible to believe it; or if the mind to whom it is submitted indulge an universal Pyrrhonism, there will be an equal, though a moral, impossibility likewise.

In our inquiry into "Philosophical Unbelief," we must again seek for another individual analysis. And as we have made the historian Gibbon the representative of the first class in a former paragraph, we would make Hume in his character as a moralist a representative of the second class. He did emphatically declare, not only that no one believed Revelation, but—that it was impossible for *any one* to believe.

The scepticism of Hume upon the doctrines and facts of Revelation is completely neutralized as to its rational force by recollecting the intellectual predisposition with which he examined them. The formation of his religious creed was commenced *after* his rejection of all belief either in his own consciousness or in the evidence of his senses. He was already living in a mental vacuum. He had no one ascertained fulcrum upon which to place his intellectual lever. He had not *one* point "for firm footing, no one solid rock, though all were sea besides." His thoughts were an universal sea, ever fluctuating either in its alternating tides of habit or in tumultuous doubt. What was his own first method of investigation? "Not only to doubt of all his former opinions and principles, but also of his very faculties; of whose veracity we must, he says, assure ourselves by a chain of reasoning, deduced from some original principle, which cannot possibly be fallacious or deceitful." This was the avowed line he undertook as "a necessary preparation to the study of philosophy;" and in the same moment adds, "but neither is there any such original principle, (i. e. as proof of the existence of our own faculties,) which has a prerogative above all others, that are self-evident and convincing; or if there were, could we advance a step beyond it, but by the use of these very faculties, *of which we are disposed to be already diffident.*" Thus did Hume come prepared to the study of the Scriptures of Revelation with an anterior condition of mind so confirmed in Pyrrhonism, that he was actually diffident as to the existence of his own faculties. Consciousness was not proof sufficient for him. And, moreover, our readers most of them are aware that he discredited the evidence of the senses. "We are necessitated by reasoning to contradict or depart from the primary instincts of our nature, and to embrace a new system with regard to the evidence of our senses."*

* "It seems evident that men are carried, by a natural instinct or prepossession, to repose faith in their senses; and that without any reasoning, or even almost before the

We cannot too closely keep ourselves to this fact. Hume doubted the reality of his own faculties,—he doubted the evidence of his senses. What possible proofs, then, would he have received as sufficient of the authenticity of revelation? Verily, had the Deity, by virtue of his own omnipotence, assisted Hume to a consciousness that he was around him, within him, it had been insufficient. To say that “though one had risen from the dead, he had not believed,” would be far below the truth in expression of his incredulity. *He* disbelieved his senses! Then, had he been borne to the third heavens, and touched the throne of the Eternal,—or, for his impiety, felt “the fire that goeth before” the Deity,—or seen worlds created into being by the Almighty *fiat*,—or heard the ineffable acclaims of the myriads of the redeemed,—these appeals to his senses he had not believed.

Where, then, is the force of his following asseveration?

“We may observe, that notwithstanding the dogmatical, imperious style of all superstition, the conviction of the religionist in all ages is more affected than real, and scarce ever approaches in any degree to that solid belief and persuasion which governs us in the common affairs of life. Men dare not avow, even to their own hearts, the doubts which they entertain on such subjects. They make a merit of implicit faith, and disguise to themselves their real infidelity by the strongest asseverations and the most positive bigotry.”*

This is, indeed, the refinement of philosophical scepticism; and we are sure Hume’s intellectual tendencies, *before* he had formed an opinion respecting revelation, must have necessarily impelled him to its rejection, whatever might have been its proofs.

use of reason, we always suppose an external universe, which depends not on our perception, but would exist though we and every sensible creature were absent or annihilated. Even the animal creation are governed by a like opinion, and preserve this belief of external objects, in all their thoughts, designs, and actions. It seems also evident, that when men follow this blind and powerful instinct of nature, they always suppose the very images, presented by the senses, to be the external objects, and never entertain any suspicion that the one are nothing but representations of the other. This very table which we see white and which we feel hard, is believed to exist, independent of our perception, and to be something external to our mind which perceives it. Our presence bestows not being on it; our absence annihilates it not. It preserves its existence uniform and entire, independent of the situation of intelligent beings, who perceive or contemplate it.

“But this universal and primary opinion of all men is soon destroyed by the slightest philosophy, which teaches us, that nothing can ever be present to the mind but an image or perception, and that the senses are only the inlets through which these images are received, without being ever able to produce any immediate intercourse between the mind and the object. The table which we see, seems to diminish as we remove farther from it; but the real table, which exists independent of us, suffers no alteration; it was, therefore, nothing but its image, which was present to the mind. These are the obvious dictates of reason; and no man who reflects, ever doubted, that the existences, which we consider, when we say this house and that tree, are nothing but perceptions in the mind, and fleeting copies or representations of other existences, which remain uniform and independent.”—*Hume on the Academical or Sceptical Philosophy*, p. 367.

* Hume. *The Natural History of Religion*, p. 518.

His unbelief was a natural effect. He, who, "addictus jurare in verba magistri," would strengthen himself by Hume's authority against the Gospel, is equally bound to adopt his other conclusions against his consciousness.

The existence of "mysteries" in Christianity is the sole ground upon which Mr. Wills supposes an infidel to argue "that it is impossible to believe."

The plan which we have proposed for ourselves in this review will not allow us to digress and show the futility of this objection. The author's chapter on this subject is one of his happiest. We think the following, if developed and illustrated, would be a perfect solution of the difficulty:—"A mystery is that which cannot be explained from *known* principles, and the difficulty exists only in relation to our actual knowledge: to a man born blind there is a mystery in vision; to a man born deaf, in sounds."

In a former Letter there is another instance of bad arrangement, in the assertion of a most happy illustration, which would have been so much more appropriate to this place. We shall, therefore, transplant it.

"Two years since, in a short excursion amongst the Connemara mountains, we happened to fall in with a poor unlettered rustic, who attended us for some hours through the intricate passes of these hills. He showed, on a great many common subjects, a degree of shrewdness, and homely but pointed wit, at which, for a little while, you seemed infinitely delighted. At length, I forget how it happened, you became entangled in a very serious argument. I believe that, as a philosopher, you thought proper to enlighten the poor man's mind with a lecture on astronomy. He did not turn out to be the most docile of pupils; and I recollect that there were two of your assertions which he met with the most masterly display of scepticism I ever happened to witness. Of these, one was relative to the spheroidal form of the earth: the other, the fact of its motion in free space; or, as the poor man expressed it, rolling through the empty sky, without any kind of prop. This he sturdily insisted was impossible, and contrary to reason, experience, and common sense. It was an absurdity too gross for any one, out of swaddling clothes to digest, that even a bag of feathers, not to talk of this vast universe, should continue to roll away, without anything either to hold it up in its place, or drive it on its way. He very plainly proved, to his own evident satisfaction, that, if you were right, the earth must be for ever falling down into the bottomless abyss. He also argued with great shrewdness, that if it turned quite round, the same would as surely happen to its inhabitants. On both points he triumphantly referred you, every now and then, to the evidence of your senses, and hinted that learned men were often very credulous, from not looking about them on the actual goings on of the world. He observed that no one saw more of the stars than persons like himself, who often spent his nights, as well as days, on the mountains; and that there could be no other way

of knowing these things. Another argument of his I can recollect, which perplexed you more than all: he very plainly proved that it would be quite inconsistent with his notions of the wisdom of the Creator, to construct such a complicated piece of machinery as you described; and, for the sake of the annual and diurnal changes, which were of very doubtful convenience, to send such a great body of land and water so many million of miles out of its way, round the sun; which, he added, everybody knew to be nothing more than a great ball of fire, fixed up among the clouds for no other purpose than to give light to the people, and make the grass grow. Lastly, he told you that your whole description was one of the many absurdities, invented time out of mind by learned men, to impose upon the world, which was always too wise to believe such crazy notions. You were the more nettled at this, because you supposed the poor fellow to be thinking of Ptolemaic, and other such exploded systems of philosophers and schoolmen. The poor man had probably no such meaning, though he annoyed you prodigiously by confounding the demonstrative science of Newton with the absurd superstitions of astrology. In the whole of this most singular controversy, your ragged antagonist never let pass a single occasion for a good joke; and when he had succeeded in raising a laugh, he evidently set it down to the disparagement of your argument. He also evinced great controversial judgment in interrupting your reasonings at the strong point; and still more, in the felicitous audacity with which he denied the simplest axioms, when they favoured your notions; and again, with equally happy inconsistency, adopted them for his own purposes. After some time you became heated, and even this the shrewd old fellow turned to his purpose, not heeding the fact that he was also himself a little testy: he told you that he perceived by your temper that you were a collegian and an astrologer, and therefore had a personal interest in imposing on the people. I omit the provoking mixture of sophism and flippant jest with which he similarly met your other position as to the earth's form; or how he moved your indignation by flippantly observing, that had he assisted in the formation of this world, instead of adopting for a model that absurd and aristocratic vegetable the turnip, (your unhappy illustration,) he would have recommended for a prototype that useful and popular vegetable the potato.

"At last we were both much pleased at getting rid of the old man, and I still recollect the mortified aspect with which, before he turned a corner of the village which we were entering at the moment, you looked after him, and with a forced smile of much significance, observed, how little knowledge it required to be a sceptic. To this I assented most cordially; and you proceeded very emphatically to point out the uses of philosophy in freeing the mind from those vulgar prejudices by which it is shackled in its reception of great truths, which lie beyond the sphere of the senses, and thus enabling the liberal mind to attain those remote inferences which reason carries home to the studious. The old peasant, you were pleased to observe, instantly denied whatever he could not entirely comprehend, and whatever threatened to disturb his prejudices. You also very forcibly remarked, that he maintained his ground chiefly

by means of his own errors, and by making false statements, which it would take whole days to rectify. Lastly, you repeated twice over with an indignant air, that the fool asked questions which an angel could not answer, alluding to his having rather sneeringly asked you what gravitation was made of."—p. 65—69.

We come now to the third class of objectors. *They* concede both that it is possible to believe, and that some do sincerely believe; they only assail the claims of the system to belief: they say, "there is no proof of revealed religion." Here it may be thought by our readers that our classification fails in logical accuracy, and that this argument is not a distinctive feature of the philosophical school. But it is to be remarked that they are supposed to say, "there is no proof." This is not a partial, but a total abjuration of *all* the evidences of Christianity; the survey of the field is assumed to have been unlimited. It has, however, much in common with the inferior class. To a certain point they both oppose upon the same grounds: the former is distinguished by opposing both upon them and *more*, and therefore its best representative for our analysis must be a sceptic of the greatest information, who has been the most able to view Revelation in all the lights in which her prophecies, her literature, her morals may present her. But even in such an instance we must be more *general* in our researches: there is too multifarious an assemblage in this group to allow much individuality. We will select Voltaire and Rousseau. What was the history of their philosophical unbelief?

Voltaire and Rousseau differed from Hume and Gibbon, in that the latter were men who did not avail themselves of their fancied irresponsibility for the purposes of immorality. It is true that Gibbon's feelings were of the grossest order, otherwise his History had not been so gratuitously defiled; but they were comparatively latent. Perhaps the true explanation of this would be, that the contemplation of sin was itself so exquisitely gratifying to his depraved taste, that overt satisfactions were unnecessary.

But Voltaire and Rousseau were the incarnations of immorality; the cups from which they quaffed their pleasures held sensuality distilled. Voltaire's caustic cynicism, and Rousseau's tender sentimentalism, though qualities so opposed, gave them the mutual resemblance of intense selfishness. It is true that the one delighted in the feeling of isolated superiority, while the other sought for the interfusion of his sympathies with those of his fellow-beings. Voltaire despised human nature; Rousseau adored her. Yet the frown and the smile were purest selfishness. Voltaire contemned "the ministers to his pleasure;" Rousseau loved them as indispensable companions, as nothing more. Both scorned the name of virtue; never were there men more dissimilar

in mind, more similar in morals. When Voltaire visited Pope, even the bard of Twickenham blushed at the pollution of his mind. Gray's epigram upon his prostituted talents was too true:

“ You are so witty, profligate and thin,
At once we think thee Milton, Death, and Sin.”

The Confessions of Rousseau are unfit to read.

If Quintilian felt the importance of good morals as an accompaniment to the shrewdest reasoning, in order that the latter might convince, so that he insisted that an advocate should be a good man, it is fair in us to demand the same qualification in an impugner of Christianity, if he would be above suspicion.

It may be justly surmised that the unbelief of a bad man is not from a love of truth, but from a love of sin. He is an interested witness; he has suborned himself to lie against his Judge. But we would not charge this upon the men before us, (not because we think it too severe, or too hypothetical, but because the language of accusation is so unfit for the language of debate,) if we did not honestly believe that this is the common characteristic of their class. In fact, others may be self-deluded by philosophical speculation; these are insincere. The one are blind, the other are masked. The moment a man comes to an examination of the evidences of Christianity, recognizing the genuine laws of demonstration, we believe them to be so irrefragable, so conclusive, that even his fancied disproof of them is impossible. A man awake, in broad, unclouded day, cannot persuade himself there is no sun. We tax Voltaire and Rousseau with hypocrisy. One day Voltaire insulted our blessed Lord with the blasphemy, “Down with the wretch;” another day he partook the symbols of his body. We have no more eloquent or just comparison between the perfect man of Paganism and the “example” of the Gospel, followed with a declaration of the latter's superiority as *infinite*, than in the well-known parallel by Rousseau.

This—the imminence of the third class of philosophical objectors—is the *fact* to be ascertained by analysis, and it is so peculiar to those who, having professedly admitted the Gospel to a hearing, decide against her, that we consider it the cause of the adjudication.

The mode in which Mr. Wills notices this third objection, is by an enumeration of the evidences of Christianity in order to refute it. It is chiefly an epitome of “Leslie's Short Method with the Deists.”

His last chapters discuss the fourth Infidel assertion, that “there can be no proof of Revelation.” It differs from the principle of Hume: it *allows* that some systems may be proved

but that this—such is its nature—cannot be. It takes its rise from the mathematical class of sceptics. Accustomed to calculate and prove by physical facts, by means of the exact sciences, they have applied numerical probability on the doctrine of chances to Revelation. Now, in limine, it is to be denied that the system of Christianity can be the subject of numerical calculation. And we think that the following is conclusive.

“Laplace acknowledges in several passages, the inutility of the *Calculus* as applied to cases in which a complication of interests and passions combine their influences: and in another part of the same work he points out, with much clearness, the true principles of moral probability. He even observes the impossibility of applying the mathematical *Calculus* to estimate the truth of scientific results, which have been obtained by a variety of different means of observations and methods of reasoning, and adds, ‘which is also applicable to historic facts.’ But it never seems to have entered his mind, in estimating the credit due to the witnesses of the Christian religion, (for such is his meaning, and he is so understood,) that it is a question affected by all the various conditions which exempt it from the kind of trial to which he would submit it. Precise and scrupulous in applying his principles to investigations connected with science, he sets aside the known laws of human nature and the system of life, and invents improbable cases and absurd suppositions, for the purpose of making his favourite science subservient to the popular infidelity of his nation. With this view he narrows the subject to the most elementary conditions, by leaving out the entire question on which he infers by implication. He assumes the simplest case of witnesses testifying to an extraordinary fact; and reasoning on this with the precision of numbers, insinuates a conclusion, of the fallacy of which he was probably aware, in such a manner as to allow the reader to put his own construction upon it.”—pp. 193—195.

It might be contended, moreover, that the truth of the Christian Religion is an affair of demonstration, as well as of moral probability. We know that these terms have too frequently been considered synonymous: but their difference will be easily seen, upon reflecting that the one admits of moral certainty, and the other only of moral approximation. So that were we unable to show the inappropriateness of the *calculus*, and on its being applied to the Christian faith were we defeated, there would still remain another department for a conflict.

In this latter one many mathematicians have assailed our evidences. But in what way? By bringing an objection to *all* moral demonstration whatever. We have to ask by what supposable process have they arrived at this species of Infidelity! It is well known that mental habits are as rigid as physical ones: that as the disuse of any one bodily faculty enervates it almost equally with paralysis, so does disuse of any one mental faculty.

The poet's eye "in fine frenzy rolling," gradually becomes incapable of microscopic observation. Facts and their relations are proportionably lost to him. And with equal truth may it be asserted, on the other hand, that the historian, the man of realities, becomes often incapable of forming the unreal visions of the fancy. The habits of the mathematician and the habits of the moralist in their investigations must be totally distinct. The one exerts powers which the other has suspended. That either man should arrogate and monopolize all the field of demonstration, or even that he should dogmatize upon the comparative merits of the instruments, would be absurd. It would be the naturalist, who has been contracting his gaze upon some moss, with its teeming animalculæ and its foliage, suddenly starting into ridicule at the ecstasy of an observer of a surrounding prospect, though his own pupil is only dilating, and all objects are swimming in indistinctness before his vision.

This law of mind we adduce as seriously accounting for and affecting the worth of the unbelief of such men as D'Alembert and Laplace.

Having now considered the leading topics of this volume, we will hasten to a conclusion. It has been with unmingled pain that we have been obliged to speak with any thing bordering on severity upon a book written with so pure an intention; and, save and except the deficiencies we have noticed, so very valuable. Every volume is not worth the time and trouble of criticism. We pass over many a fault in an inferior writer, which must not be spared in such an one as Mr. Wills. His style as well as his method will bear much emendation. He pleads himself that "it was impossible to afford so much attention as to avoid or correct many very prominent errors of style and method; some arising from an anxiety for condensation, and, others from a wish to avoid common place—both carried too far for good taste." This is the precise truth: there is throughout the work an evident fear of being thought trite: a straining after a superior diction. Is not this a distrust in the force and value of his thoughts? And, as any one would expect, is it not the certain way to obscurity? Every author should know that the affectation of profundity is more dangerous than the affectation of simplicity. A reader will forgive the writer who saves him toil, more easily than when having caused him the toil no thought sufficiently compensatory is discovered.

We much question the advisableness of addressing such a volume of letters to a sceptic, with the design of convincing him. Its unavoidable exposure of the latent faults of the unbeliever's heart,—its accusations of prejudice and unfairness,—will only

irritate. A close ingenuous demonstration, such as Paley's, will—coming as an instructor, not an informer—be far more appropriate. The inquiry is more advantageous to the believer. It enlarges his acquaintance with human nature; it fits him for other adroit homethrusts of argument; and, chiefly, it is another grateful tribute to the honesty, openness and purity of the Christian Faith, another proof that “his hope will not make ashamed.”

ART. VIII.—1. *Does the Church of Rome agree with the Church of England in all the fundamentals of Christianity? Answered by the Authoritative Declarations of the Two Churches; in a Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melbourne.* By the Bishop of Down and Connor. Dublin: Milliken and Son. 1836.

2. *Tracts for the Times.* Nos. 67, 68, 69. *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, with an Appendix.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, B.D. (D.D.) Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons.

3 *The Church of England's Confession of Faith in the Thirty-Nine Articles.* By Thomas Stephen. Edinburgh: Frazer and Co.

4. *The Church of England a Protester against Romanism and Dissent. No. I. On the Unity of the Church, &c. &c.* By William Dodsworth, M.A. Minister of Margaret Chapel, St. Marylebone. London: James Burns.

SMALL is our right to put so imposing a title as the “*Genius and Character of the Church of England*,” at the head of the few cursory observations, which our article itself can contain. But the impatient course of events precipitates us upon a task, which we have not at present space, even if we possessed the ability, duly and adequately to execute; and urges us to give the outline and skeleton of principles, which we hope to bring out with a fuller development at other and more favourable opportunities.

Neither to the books specified above can we pretend to do justice. We must be content to recommend what we have no room to criticise. Dr. Mant's pamphlet is a cogent and somewhat caustic reply to an unlucky proposition advanced by Lord Melbourne, that “the Roman Catholics in *all* the fundamentals of Christianity agree with Protestants.” In one sense, perhaps, it may be true, that two Churches which have the Creeds in common must have some general agreement in the fundamental

articles of faith. But that the agreement does not extend to *all*, or nearly *all*, the points, which are essential and vital, the Bishop of Down and Connor, following the Bishop of Salisbury, proves to other readers, and, we should humbly think, to the Prime Minister himself, in a terse, lucid, and vigorous epistle, exhibiting a comparison, in parallel columns, of the Articles of the Church of England, and the decrees and statements of the Council of Trent.

Dr. Pusey's tracts are among the most valuable of a very valuable collection. And, as we look at the title page, and see before us, "*Tracts for the Times*, Nos. 67, 68, 69," we take some shame to ourselves for not having called attention to the series before. But the task, perhaps, would have been deemed a work of supererogation; for extensive scholarship, and earnest piety, and nervous language will work their own way.

The Church of England's Confession of Faith by Mr. Stephen appears, for the most part, a clear and useful compendium of orthodox opinions; but must be regarded rather as a compilation than as an original work. Mr. Dodsworth presents us with a number of little addresses, various in their subjects, but having for a common title, "*The Church of England a Protester against Romanism and Dissent.*" They are written with a smooth and equable neatness of style; safe and sensible, perhaps, rather than forcible or energetic. The *intention* is one, which *we* at least must approve: since we have earned to ourselves the fervent dislike of Ultra-Protestants, by praising the wise moderation of the Church of England in standing between the extremes of Popery and Sectarianism. With some few and inconsiderable exceptions, we are willing to assent to Mr. Dodsworth's exposition; but, in productions of so unpretending a form, we could hardly expect, nor do we find, any conspicuous novelty either of remark or of citation. Mr. Dodsworth says,—

"It is not my purpose to treat these subjects controversially, any further than is absolutely necessary for their elucidation. My object is not controversy; but 'to stir up your pure minds in the way of remembrance,' shewing what we really do believe concerning these great doctrines; so that our minds may not be drawn aside from the truth on the one side or the other by the subtlety of the adversary."—pp. 7, 8.

But here a difficulty arises. Many persons will think that these brief tracts, if intended for a mere enunciation of doctrines, are far too polemical; if intended for a proof of doctrines, are by no means sufficiently argumentative. For stimulating the mind, the plan may have its uses; but towards satisfying it, can hardly do much. The cheap and popular mode of publication may win the regard of some, to whom otherwise the topics would remain

unfamiliar, if not unattractive: and there are some, again, who will bear wholesome doctrine administered in small portions or doses, one by one: yet have neither intellectual appetite or intellectual digestion for a solid and hearty meal.

Mr. Dodsworth must, however, understand as well as ourselves the disadvantages, as well as the conveniences, of the method which he has adopted.

One disadvantage is, that, in a number of brief tracts, partly expository, partly controversial, and partly hortatory, there may be always a dispute as to the judiciousness of the proportions, in which the several ingredients are mixed up. Indeed, it has occurred to ourselves as at least a questionable point, whether Mr. Dodsworth has enabled himself by the peculiarity of his plan to do justice to his argument. His object, as we have seen, according to his own statement, is *not* polemical: it is merely to put common readers in possession of the views of the Church of England. But still his labour is a kind of pleading; and the misfortune is, that he states his case like an advocate, without allowing himself to bring forward half the evidence of half the witnesses.

An objection, too, might be raised as to the order, if not the character, of the topics which he introduces. Some of the tracts—or, whatever we are to call them,—might, we think, the fifth for instance, have been omitted without injury; and the rest are rather isolated treatises, than well arranged parts of a connected train of reasoning.

And this remark leads us to the principal exception which we would take to Mr. Dodsworth's series. Not only is it a series, without being properly a *consecutive* series: but, by having the argument presented to us simply in fragments, we are left unacquainted with *it as a whole*. There is no introductory outline, giving a sketch of the entire character of our Church: and the strength of the defence is impaired by the want of method and continuity. To our minds the resistless cogency of the case on the side of the Church of England is, that, while it consists of many portions, it is, in itself, one and indivisible. We praise the moderation, the sagacious and discriminating moderation of our Church, and the noble position in which it is impreguably entrenched between Popery and Ultra-Protestantism. This moderation is conspicuous, not merely in *one* or *some* of the doctrines, but in *all* the doctrines; and not merely in all the doctrines, but in the discipline as well as the doctrines. And between all the doctrines themselves; and again, between the doctrine and the discipline, there is an admirable parallelism and correspondence. The *consistency* of the whole, the *harmony* and *connection* of the parts,

and their reciprocal co-operation with each other, form an argument quite independent of the truths and soundness of the separate portions: and at least quite as convincing. But a multitude of detached parts cannot lead us up to this general harmony and consistency: it may rather induce us to forget and overlook it.

We might wish, therefore, that Mr. Dodsworth had undertaken a series of ratiocinative tracts rather than a succession of lectures imperfectly controversial. But we could wish still more that he had imparted somewhat more of unity to his labours; that he had taken a more systematic and comprehensive view of the entire field of his subject before he began to write: and that he had bound his observations together by firmer and more perceptible threads of connection. We are thankful for what he has done. He may be useful as a pioneer. But the "*here a little, and there a little*," is not enough. These fragmentary discussions cannot supersede the necessity of a larger and more elaborate design. The times require a wide and philosophical exhibition of the real character of the Church of England, as to its constitution and its administration, as to its tenets and its government, setting forth its mighty claims, not only to the veneration and gratitude of the country, but to the respectful admiration of all thinking men throughout the world: not merely admitting us into the several apartments, one by one, but also revealing at one view the solidity, the harmony, the beauty, of the whole glorious, and, as we yet hope, indestructible edifice.

It is the glory of the Church of England, that it breathes the genuineness of a Catholic Spirit, combining, in its creed, and its liturgy, and its government, all that is best and wisest in the doctrine and discipline of other Churches;—almost firm and compact as the Papal polity, without its despotism; and friendly, as Dissent can be, to the legitimate exercise of the human understanding, without its licentiousness.

It is said indeed,—in the matter of tradition, for instance,—that the claims of the Church of England are very nearly on a par with the assumptions and usurpations of the Church of Rome; and that the difference at most is a difference not of kind but of degree. But may we not well ask, whether two things essentially distinct are not here very frequently confounded? To lay a considerable stress upon the authority of the Catholic Church, and the general traditions handed down to us from the primitive ages, is to act in perfect accordance with the strictest rules of moral evidence; but to suspend our faith upon any communion, or synod, or pontiff, supposed to be infallible, with a deference so implicit as to bid the individual voice of the heart and intellect be dumb, is an attempt, still more absurd than it is perilous, to believe with the

understanding of others instead of our own. In the one case, we fling our faculties overboard, while we reverence as unerring that, which, to say the least, is liable to err: in the other case, we merely weigh the balance of probabilities, and throw the collective and cumulative aggregate of concurrent opinions, as something in the scale. To gather the suffrages of antiquity; to regard the sentiments of the multitude of learned and holy men, who lived nearer to the circumstances than ourselves, and who enjoyed better opportunities of coming to right conclusions, is to pursue a course, which, instead of being irrational, is dictated by the highest and largest use of reason. We merely bring into the account an argument of the same description with the plea brought forward by the old philosophers, when they contended for the existence of the Deity from the universal assent of all nations, and urged as a main article of conviction, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. In the one case, we are not to exercise our private judgment at all; in the other case, we are to exercise it as much as ever; nor do we exercise it least, when we decide that it neither is, nor can be, the sole and supreme arbiter. We allow long established and widely spread notions to affect our credence; because we do not arrogate infallibility to ourselves, more than we ascribe it to others. In the one case, we bow, without appeal, to the immutable decrees of a sovereign judge; in the other, we simply pay respectful attention to the testimony of a very important witness. The tribunal of our understanding is still free and unfettered; but our private fancies and speculations do not constitute the only evidence which we summon for examination at its bar. Here, as in all the reflective operations of the mind, we place our own private and immediate impressions as something without ourselves; and use them as one element, but not the only, nor always the most powerful element, in forming our conclusions. We regard them as *external*; and our reason, in deciding against them, not the less makes the decision. Our reason is still the judge; and the voice even of Catholic antiquity is received not as the verdict but as the evidence; as *authoritative* testimony, but only as testimony still. The fallacy lies in the equivocal use of the term private judgment; in confounding judgment, when it means "*decision*," with judgment when it simply means opinion, impression, or conception;—and sometimes, again, in not making the due distinction between the Church, independent of the Scripture, "having authority in controversies of faith," and having supreme, plenary, infallible authority.

Mr. Dodsworth has introduced into his fourth address some serviceable observations on this subject, as also upon the itch for novelty in religion.

Novelties in religion are things which we can never contemplate without rising qualms of misgiving and distrust. There is always a *primâ facie* case against them. Surely, there is a native and essential difference between revealed religion and human knowledge. Surely, there are impassable barriers of distinction between the authoritative truths which are delivered down to us from heaven, and the principles of science, which, one after another, by a difficult and laborious process, we work out for ourselves. The latter may be supplanted by juster theories formed upon the view of phænomena hitherto unregarded, or upon a larger basis of observations and experiments; the former can only be superseded by a new revelation equally divine. The latter consist in the progressive discovery and developement of things which always exist; the former consist rather of certain historical facts belonging to a particular time, with which the contemporary observers must, of course, have enjoyed the most intimate acquaintance. In natural science, the inquirers who come last, are likely, *cæteris paribus*, to be the surest guides: but the reverse is rather to be expected in the case of revealed religion. Nor, as the Bible is the main source of knowledge in the one instance, and the whole universe of mind and matter in the other, can the contrary proposition be maintained, unless men are also disposed to argue that the volume of Holy Scripture has not been more thoroughly explored, and is not more fully compassed, than that exhaustless magazine of nature, where we arrive, by slow and timid steps, at some imperfect glimpses and fragments of information as to causes and effects, substances and qualities, mutual operations, perpetual and interchanging transitions. The canon of the Scriptures being fixed, and the text of the Scriptures being ascertained, and the contents of the Scriptures being mastered, and the translation of the Scriptures being accurate—and, assuredly we are too late to introduce any wide and cardinal improvements in any of these respects,—it were preposterous to anticipate that any new doctrine of vital importance should be evolved; although there is, and will continue to be, abundant room for critical erudition, for patient and humble study; although many valuable elucidations may be brought to bear upon particular tenets and particular passages; and although the investigations of successive travellers may throw a strong and increasing light upon the details of the geography of the Bible, and the events of its history, and the fulfilment of its wonderful predictions. True it is that, the Author of Nature and the Author of the Bible being the same, there are some points, such as those which regard astronomy or geology, where the volume of the

Bible touches upon the volume of nature. But here a distinct question arises : and we wait, without an apprehension, to see how far the inspired narration has been accommodated of old to the ignorance of man upon subjects which are not directly of a spiritual or religious character ; and how far the Scriptural language may require to be translated into the phraseology of modern science. For the rest, it is *possible* that some fresh manuscripts may yet be found, that some fresh readings may yet be suggested and adopted ; but that Being, who has benignantly provided that the points, which it is most needful for us to know, should be known from the first, has not, we hold, left us for centuries in the dark as to the great and eternal verities of that gracious revelation which he has vouchsafed to impart. Yet again, there is this obvious and remarkable dissimilarity. The obscurities of nature may be gradually penetrated by farther research ; for they lie, at least for the most part, rather in the number and extent, the complicated intricacy and the rapid, perhaps intangible, transmutations of the things to be examined, than in their actual and proper essence. But the mysteries of the Bible must remain inscrutable and irremovable to us on earth for ever ; because they belong to the inherent narrowness and infirmity of the human understanding, as compared with the deep things of God. Hence, therefore, we feel entitled to conclude that novelties in religion are, at the first glance, fair objects of suspicion ; that a leaning towards them is almost always unphilosophical, even where it does not tread upon the borders of impiety ; and that their origin is generally to be traced either in unripeness and instability of judgment, or in poverty and superficiality of acquirements ; or in that affectation of singularity, which is a weakness in other matters, but a crime as well as a weakness in matters of revelation. Here, therefore, men are right in standing always upon the old paths, and building always upon the old foundations. The Gospel, the everlasting Gospel, is a final dispensation ; and against all anticipation of an ulterior economy there is in the Scriptures themselves an interdict and a curse. And while Christianity blends together the principle of stability and the principle of progression ; it is progressive in its evidences and in its power ; but it is unalterably fixed in its nature and in its truth. It goes forward in its victorious course, traversing the earth, subduing and transforming all things ; but itself, though in its external garb susceptible of adaptation to the multitude of circumstances, yet without one shadow of variation or decrepitude visible on its sacred, and impassive, and un-wrinkled brow. Thus it cannot grow old : it stands alone in the world ;—something that is immutable amidst every vicissitude ;

and immoveable amidst every progression, and equable amidst every fluctuation : one constant star in this universe of growth and decay, of dissolution and reproduction, unfading and the same : one august, glorious, unextinguished, incorruptible verity, which shines like a steady and everlasting beacon over the whole tossing ocean of uncertainty and change.

We have said the more concerning novelties in religion ; because we are anxious to refer to a disposition which we conceive to be very often their origin. Many among the neologisms of expression at least, if not of doctrine, to which Dr. Whately, or rather his pupils, Dr. Hinde, Dr. Arnold, and Dr. Hampden have rushed, are attributable, we believe, in their origin to the ambition of forming a school. To minds, indeed, of a certain cast—we mean philosophical and contemplative, and yet active and aspiring minds—no object of human ambition is so animating and alluring as the aim of founding a school or sect ; of establishing a new dynasty in the world of thought ; of identifying their names with the rise and progress of opinions, which are to have their course and be glorified : and of stamping a definite impress upon the sentiments of future generations ; in a word of first “ *giving laws to some little senate,*” and then seeing that little senate become the birth-place and the cradle of an intellectual empire—a parliament, from which decrees are to issue forth, having jurisdiction over the glorious republic of literature and knowledge. This object has in it something so great, and, in certain points of view, so noble, so far above the sphere and the successes of a coarse and vulgar turbulence, that we can hardly wonder if it constitutes a temptation, which some men, conscious to themselves of large attainments, as well as of native powers, both logical and rhetorical, of a high order, are unable to resist. Yet, if we cast our eyes over the past and present, even of human philosophy, it is but too easy to discern evident and melancholy traces of the mischief which this spirit has occasioned. In religion, however, with which we are more immediately concerned, we may allege, without any apprehension of disproof, that there is no other species of ambition so perilous or so pernicious : and that this ambition befits rather the sophist, or the scribe, or the Rabbi, the intractable and insubordinate disputant, who will call no man master, than the docile, lowly, and humble disciple of the one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is an ambition, always lamentable where it meddles with the fundamental truths of the Gospel, and fatal as far as it extends its influence, wherever it works and ferments in the bosom of a Church. For it is adverse, in its very essence, to both established doctrine and established discipline. In Ger-

many, where a professor is induced to create a school, partly by way of collecting an audience, the evil has been long apparent. But in England the evil would be far more widely and intensely felt than in Germany; because our ecclesiastical establishment is different in form and administration, and more completely intertwined with the very roots of the state.

There are other men, we understand, at the University of Oxford, who are supposed to be also desirous of forming a peculiar school, diametrically opposite in its features and character to the school of Dr. Arnold and Dr. Hampden. The latter, we perceive, speaks in his inaugural lecture, of an "*adverse school*." If we believed that the pious and excellent men, who are suspected of such an intention, really entertained it, we should, so far, be at variance with their principles. But we believe just the reverse. We believe, that there are no divines in the kingdom more anxious to respect the voice of Catholic antiquity, and comply, in the letter and in the spirit, with the forms and discipline of the Church; more anxious to adhere to the old landmarks of theology, and consult the testimony of that continuous and unbroken line of witnesses, which has come down to us even from the primitive times; more anxious almost to sink and merge their individuality, if it were necessary, in the establishment to which they belong, instead of obtruding themselves as the salient points of a particular system. We believe, that if they appear to be growing and coalescing into a school, it is simply because, while brought near by circumstances and by locality, they are animated, penetrated, possessed, by a common solicitude to search, critically and profoundly, yet with devout and humble minds, into the truths of God, and combat neology and error,—wherever they deem them to exist, and most where they imagine them likely to be widely and permanently noxious,—with the weapons of keen research and solid erudition. A few friends meeting together to examine or discuss the higher points of divinity, are not obliged, although some light danger there may always be, to crystallize into a school. A school, as we understand it, is characterized by an exclusive, instead of a catholic spirit: a tendency to see all things in a strange light, to put forth peculiar and rash opinions with a self-complacent dogmatism, and say, like the ladies in Moliere,

“ Par nos lois, prose et vers, tout nous sera soumis,
Nul n'aura de l'esprit hors nous et nos amis,
Nous chercherons partout à trouver à redire,
Et ne verrons que nous qui sachent bien écrire.”

In this sense, the mere attempt to set up a school within a Church is a positive mischief. We can, in fact, hardly conceive a position of things more pregnant with ultimate disaster, than a religious

community, which ought to consist of one vast national homogeneous body, parcelled out into a number of schools, or divans, or *coteries*. Even in theological associations, or meetings of individuals, however learned, and pious, and respectable, for the purposes of theological discussion, there is, we are aware, a tendency to evil, which it requires much prudence to counteract, and a large measure of advantages to counterbalance. For the process is likely to be this. There is a succession of theological assemblies. These assemblies will become wearisome, or will be thought common-place, unless there is something to characterize and distinguish them;—unless, therefore some discoveries are made; unless, therefore, some novelties are introduced; unless some striking and original views, whether really such, or supposed to be such, are elicited by the course of deliberation, and the collision of intellects. Hence a nucleus is soon formed, around which peculiarities and neologisms are collected. These constitute the origin, and in time the *shibboleth* of a school. Then, it is with a school, as with a theory; when it is once formed, every thing must be assimilated to its idiosyncrasy; every thing must be twisted and tortured into a conformity with its tenets. The natural result is, that some other school starts up in opposition; and, just because this opposition is its source, it has a bias towards the contrary extreme. Thus exclusiveness, and excess of different kinds, gradually become the marks or badges of parties within the same Church; infecting, probably, more persons and yet more; and spreading around them the contagion of unsoundness and decay. The Church is no longer uniform, no longer at peace; but split into a variety of hostile sections, bristling with prejudice and hatred, and waging, upon the sacred field of theology, a civil and religious war. As to this noble and solemn Temple of an Established Church, some would demolish the exterior walls, so that all men, of every shade of opinion and character, might leap in over the ruins; others, or, perhaps even the very same men,—for extremes can meet in the same mind,—would divide the august and open space *within* its bulwarks, into a multitude of little chambers, and separate compartments, having scarcely a communication with each other. We would preserve the walls, but throw down the partitions.

As true churchmen, therefore, the last desire, which could enter our hearts, would be to institute a party, or to *create* a school. For a true churchman, this is no righteous or legitimate ambition. We thoroughly dislike parties *as* parties, and schools *as* schools. Born of self-sufficiency and vanity and the crudest immaturity of conceptions, they lead to heresy, and they are on the verge of schism: they are obviously destructive to the unity,

and we are sure that they are most pernicious to the efficiency and safety, of a church. They set it at variance within itself: and they exhibit it as a spectacle of internal discord and dismemberment to the scorn of exulting enemies, thus led to anticipate and attempt its overthrow: while the lynx-eyed and ever-watchful Papist rejoices in the prospect of an established and national church lost amidst the strife of its contending sections, and the mushroom phantasies of its upstart schools:—schools, with respect to which we have surely made out our proposition, that they have always a tendency to be the nursery, the seminary, the *officina* of neologisms.

Our chief quarrel, indeed, with the Evangelical party is its disposition to erect itself into a school, or sect. It has not been deemed enough that individuals should remonstrate against the errors, whether on the side of statement or of omission, which they imagined to have crept into the church: but a number of men banded themselves together as a separate class, and studiously adopted a particular vocabulary of terms and phrases, which might distinguish them, and mark them off, from their brethren. Thus the ministers of the Gospel have been represented as divided into two sets:—the one set, true, the other unfaithful; the one, preaching Christ, the other, preaching morality. Yet we do heartily trust that these things will pass away: we seem to see indications—and with what pleasure do we hail them!—that the most estimable and influential of the Evangelical clergy are prepared cordially to reunite and amalgamate themselves with a moderate orthodoxy; although there will indeed remain behind a small cluster of fanatics, whom we shall not dignify with the appellation of a school,—because that name has connected with it some associations of accurate learning and sedulous inquiry,—but a knot of foolish pretenders, ranting as if they were the exclusive patentees of truth and righteousness, and stiff with a rampant and indefatigable opposition.

For ourselves, we fairly avow, our object is to consolidate and cement the old orthodox party—but no, a *party* we will not call it—the old orthodox *body* of the Church of England. Individual opinion, individual research, we will not say one word to discourage: but when individuals proceed to form themselves into distinct sections, or almost independent “*lodges*” and local juntos, we are sure that they are actually instrumental in sowing those very seeds of weakness and division, which, as well-wishers to the establishment, they may yet be solicitous to prevent from being sown. We have fallen upon times when it is necessary to act—when it is necessary to act at once,—and, most of all, perhaps, when it is necessary to act with organization and concert. There

must be co-operation : there must be steadiness ; there must be that moral—we had almost said, that mechanical and physical—force, which only union can give. Now, more than ever, the church is a church militant ; and the soldiers, therefore, of the church must acquiesce in something analogous to military subordination and discipline. The demonstration must be much more than a demonstration of partisans : for the war is much more than a war of skirmishes. If men only act by fragments ; if they merely carry on an irregular and guerilla conflict, without dependence upon each others' movements, or a just knowledge of each others' intentions ; then, even if they are not defeated in detail and one by one, at least they must not hope to make any deep impression upon a formidable enemy. But if churchmen could advance against their adversaries as one compact and solid and well-disciplined array, bearing in their front the glorious standard of genuine and Catholic Christianity, they would be resistless even now.

These strictures, however, although they have a connection with schools in a church, belong more immediately to another evil, which is analogous to schools, and runs parallel with schools. We mean the evil of *societies* in a church, formed without due forethought and discrimination. Societies are in practice, almost what schools are in inquiry or in theory. The effect of societies as to discipline will be similar to the effect of schools as to doctrine. Societies, in fact, are little more than schools put in action. Wherefore, we need not marvel, if the same men are sometimes concerned in both : for the same disposition of mind leads to both.

When we turn to the several associations actually in progress, we are quite startled by their number and the rapidity of their formation. "*The Reformation Society*," "*the Established Church Society*," "*the General Visiting Society*," "*the Home Mission Society*," "*the City, and Auxiliary City, Mission Society*," "*the Pastoral Aid Society*"—all these, we believe, are of recent origin ; and we know not how many others may start up while we are writing. The avowed objects, and even regulations of them all will be found, we dare say, plausible and specious upon paper : the profession, and often, it may be, the design of the founders, is that they should act as auxiliaries, and not as rivals, to Episcopal controul, and the functions of incumbents of parishes. We impute, therefore, not sinister intentions, or improper motives, but rash, immature and undigested views. We are well convinced, that several excellent and pious men, whose names figure in the list as patrons, and directors, presidents and vice-presidents, have affixed their sanction to such associations, simply because they have not sufficiently considered their real and ine-

vitable tendency, and the nature of that influence which, as far as it goes, they will infallibly exert. But still the *effect* will, not the less, be anti-Episcopal, and hostile to the principle and well-being of a national establishment. The philosophy of associations, their bearing upon public bodies and systems of policy, their legitimate province and offices, the limitations within which they are useful, and beyond which they become injurious, constitute, as we have hinted before, almost a virgin soil in the field of social science, where the ground has, as yet, hardly even been turned up by the plough of diligent investigation. But, if the history of Europe is calculated to afford us any one lesson, it may teach us, that all societies, where they interfere with the regular government and settled economy of affairs, are detrimental to the best interests of a nation, and usually subversive of its stability and repose. They are mischievous in a church: they are mischievous in a state: and, when church and state are linked together, they are pernicious to both departments of the constitution alike. They are at once a cause and an effect, a token and an aggravation, a symptom and a source, of disorganization in a community. It would lead us too far, to examine what has been the disordering influence of the societies, such as the Society of Jesuits, and many others, which have existed in the Popish Church, both upon that church itself, and upon the countries, in which the Papal creed has been predominant. Neither can we enter into any general disquisition, how the agency of associations, whether avowed or secret, has been productive of disturbance and disquietude, in Germany, in France, in England, in Ireland. This, however, we may safely affirm, that wherever we find a revolution—and the first French Revolution will occur as a pregnant and signal instance to every man's memory—there we shall also find, that clubs, and unions, and societies, under one denomination or another, have been instrumental in fostering and maturing it; sometimes overawing, sometimes undermining, the legislature and the established institutions. How soon, too, did Lord Grey and his colleagues discover by a painful experience, that the pressure of clubs and unions is inconsistent even with the march of constitutional reform: for that the element of anarchy is born with them at their birth!

But the same reasons, which render associations—that is, associations so framed as to interfere with the ordinary routine and management of public concerns—dangerous to temporal legislature, render them likewise dangerous to ecclesiastical polity. They are in the midst of a church, just what a little nest of republics would be in the midst of a monarchy. They are “*in it, but not of it;*” and yet, while they stand apart, they are not *alto-*

gether apart : they rub, by a perpetual friction, against the chain of government, without forming any of its links : they are independent of it ; and yet cannot be quite dissociated from it : they move in the direct orbit of other bodies, without being subject to the laws, by which the general system is regulated and upheld. Hence, they exhibit the most incongruous of all anomalies, and become, sooner or later, destructive of unity, of harmony, of concentration, of peace. Either the crowd of such societies must fall, or the *one* establishment must fall.

How is it, then, the objector may ask, that the National Society of Education, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and other similar associations, are universally recognized as contributing to the strength and glory, not to the disadvantage and disorganization, of the Church of England ? The answer is, simply because these societies have hitherto been so conducted, that they claim no share in the legislation or the administration of matters directly appertaining to the discipline of the church. They leave the Episcopal and Parochial system untouched and inviolate. Yet, if the bishops should ever withdraw from these societies, and the management should be transferred to other and less skilful hands, we can very easily conceive, how *they*, too, might be turned into engines, which would help to unhinge and dislocate the scheme of polity which they now tend to assist and complete. At present, however, they stand upon grounds altogether dissimilar from the position taken up by new societies, which would impinge upon the functions of our hierarchy, and assume a legislative and administrative power, in matters directly ecclesiastical, within the ecclesiastical establishment itself.

For what is it which these societies propose to do ? They would send agents, both clerical and *lay*, into the various parishes and districts of the realm. They advertise, as we repeatedly see, for clergymen, to be *engaged by them*, who are to preach, and expound, and *speak at public meetings*. They give notice in the newspapers, that, under *their* superintendence, such and such lectures are to be delivered at such and such parish churches, or other consecrated places of public worship.* Their creatures and delegates—we would use the words for plainness, but without offence,—paid by *them*, dependent upon *them*, accountable to *them*, are to occupy the pulpit, and enter the dwelling-house,

* One instance will illustrate our position as well as five hundred. We, therefore, now content ourselves with the following advertisement.—“ *Exeter Hall, Strand*. It has been determined by the *Reformation Society* that a series of sermons shall (if the Lord will) be preached in London on the principles of the Church of Rome. Notice of the churches and days of preaching shall be duly given.”

and discharge all the several duties of the parochial minister. Now, we put it to any candid and reflecting mind, must not the whole parochial economy of our Church be swamped by such societies, if they once emerge from insignificance into authority? If the *clerical* agent of such societies is stopped and thwarted in any of his projects, who is there, at all acquainted with the disagreements already in existence, but must anticipate, with the utmost sorrow of heart, that feuds and bickerings, charges and recriminations, will arise and be interminable? And what will the *lay* agent, appointed by such societies, care for the incumbent of a parish? In short, they will generate a perpetual sore, a perpetual irritation, burning and festering in the Church of England.

But the enthusiast may cry out, "perish the Church of England, so that the cause of Christianity be promoted." Well! we might ourselves echo the sentiment. But the question is, would the cause of Christianity be promoted? We trow not. At least, would it not be more promoted, without the realization of the other part of the alternative? Our main argument against such associations is, that there is no need of them. The religious Establishment of the empire must enlarge and multiply its ministrations. Granted. The increase of population has created an imperative demand for more churches and more clergymen. Granted. The exigencies of the time require the application of new and more vigorous measures for the Christianization of the heathens at home; and an active, aggressive, missionary character must be assumed by the friends of the Gospel; and etiquette must yield to necessity; and the spiritual destitution of perishing souls mocks at the niceties and formalities of clerical discipline. Even these propositions we shall not pause to dispute. But to what does the whole statement amount? We want money; we want men. We want money, that places of worship may be built; we want men, that they may act upon their fellow-creatures for their present and eternal good. But these societies can call neither men nor money *into being*; and our firm opinion is, that they cannot use them, where they exist, to so great and unmixed advantage as the channels and instruments already provided. If persons, rich, and pious, and charitably disposed, wish to contribute funds for the erection and endowment of houses of prayer, why cannot they place them at the disposal of the commissioners for building churches, or the diocesan committees, or the bishop of any particular see? If persons are anxious to devote their individual energies to the furtherance of God's honour and man's salvation, why cannot they go at once to the bishop of a diocese, or the incumbent of a parish? Why must societies interpose between the constituted authorities of a Church and the parties who

desire to render the Church assistance? Because, it will be replied, associations are requisite to stimulate, and nourish, and direct; to connect, and centralize, and systematize exertion; to organize and arrange details; to furnish a known medium of communication; to equalize supply and demand, lest otherwise there should be agents where there are no funds, and funds where there are no agents. *Then let one great society be formed, and let the bishops place themselves at its head, and let its action be judiciously allied and subordinated to the regular action of the Church.* But the present associations rest upon a basis altogether unsound. Let them be swept away. Let them sink back into oblivion. And let their more indiscreet and noisy patrons, or projectors, beware, lest they should lay themselves open to the suspicion, that their zeal in pushing them forward is a love of innovation, or a love of power, or a love of display, rather than a love of religion.

When men shall have *proved* it desirable to unepiscopize and unparochialize the Church, so let it be. But, in the mean time, we tell them, that government by bishops, and government by associations, cannot long co-exist. The systems are heterogeneous, are incompatible, are contradictory. In the mean time, we tell them—and even if we were found in our views more episcopal than the bishops themselves, we should tell them still—that if these societies grow, and acquire power, and diffuse their operations throughout the kingdom, then the whole structure of that ecclesiastical constitution which has the monarch for its temporal head, and the prelates for its spiritual directors, must tumble to pieces in the course, perhaps, of a quarter of a century, with a crash about our ears. We tell them, also, that the incumbent must retain, in dependence of course upon his diocesan, a plenary and undivided authority, in clerical matters, over the parish, for which he is responsible to God and man, without the intervention of societies, whose agents, if obtruded upon him, he may find it a very dangerous measure to admit, and yet a very invidious and obnoxious measure to exclude. We tell them yet again, that if laymen, or if associations, are allowed by the legislature to build and endow chapels, and to introduce ministers belonging to the Establishment, and having a kind of co-ordinate and jarring influence, without the permission and sanction, perhaps against the express wish, of the incumbent who is in every way affected, then the reign of Christian charity and Christian harmony, and, in the issue, we fear, of sober and orthodox Christianity, is destined to pass away from almost every parish in the land.

We want extension, not change of system. We want the tree of the Church to strike yet deeper root, and to branch out with yet wider ramifications. Other men would introduce a new ma-

chinery: we have now a machinery which we think excellent: we only require that its power should be extended and its parts multiplied. We want a humble and subordinate ally. Other men would introduce a coadjutor, soon, perhaps, to become a substitute. If such projects spread, a bishop may be as a "*roi faînéant*," and a society as his "*maire du palais*."

And here the connection between discipline and doctrine—would that it were better understood and appreciated!—forces itself upon our notice once more. A layman, or a society, will erect a chapel and supply a minister. The chapel must be full. The minister must draw congregations. Therefore he must be *popular*: and, in order to be popular, he must cultivate a particular style of preaching; and this particular kind of preaching is as a fire which must be kept alive by the fuel of a particular kind of doctrine. Meanwhile, the orthodox rector will at first survey these novel proceedings with a sorrowful and uneasy expectation. Presently, some of his own flock will be attracted away from him by the potent magnet just fixed in the neighbourhood; then, annoyance will creep upon him; the infirmities of human nature will beset him; until, at last, the rector, or the rector's curate, will be excited either into opposition or into imitation. And so the cycle will be filled up; the contagion of extravagance will spread along and be perpetuated: the whole polity of the Church of England will be deranged, and the steady moderation of its tenets and its government will perish together.

These cautions we are compelled to give, because there is an obvious tendency in the present age to disunite rather than consolidate; and, instead of carrying forward the majestic and holy purposes for which an establishment is formed, with one regular, simultaneous, and connected scheme, to mould its theory by a number of *schools*, and its practical operations by a multitude of *societies*. Yet our duty as churchmen, on the contrary, is to live and have our being as members of one body, conforming, adjusting, subordinating ourselves and our instrumentality as parts to a great whole; *not* seeking to become, each of us, or any of us, separate and independent wholes, the centres of some particular circle, the springs of some particular movement, clashing, instead of harmonizing, with the other wheels of the machine.

In a word, we arrive at precisely the same conclusion with respect to the entire subject, at which we arrive with respect to its separate, yet kindred departments. The thing needful is, that men should work *wisely* as well as strenuously:—the thing needful is, that there should be regular concentration, systematic and disciplined order: the thing needful is, that the Church should be *one*; in its doctrines *one*; in its discipline *one*; in its action *one*;

always preserving amidst the variety of instruments the unity of design.

Yes, emphatically do we repeat the declaration, our first and most earnest wish is, that *the Church should be one*. But *one* it cannot be, if individuals are all anxious to take a line of their own: if societies, almost countless, instituted with as complete a disregard of ecclesiastical discipline, as thorough a forgetfulness of episcopal superintendence, as if they were joint stock companies for the formation of a rail-road, are to disturb its regular movements and fly off into some eccentric path, careless what they jar or displace in their career; or if some persons joining themselves into a party for aggressive purposes compel others to arm themselves as a party for the purpose of self-defence.

The *genius and character* of the Church of England *is to be one*. In attempting—and we should all attempt—to improve the Church as an instrument to its utmost attainable perfection; and then to wield that instrument with the utmost possible efficiency to the glory of God, and the good of man, it is madness to forget or overlook the *true unity* of the Church. This unity is no less essential to its moderation, than it is productive and preservative of its power. Let our aim be, we say again, to arrest its subdivisions; to throw open its space; to break down its party-walls. Schools and societies, we say again, intersecting the establishment, and interfering with its general agency, are the prolific germs of revolution in thought and in deed; the direct avenues to heresies of doctrine and disorders of practice. And, though a multitude of societies be dangerous, we must bear in mind, that the danger will be yet more imminent, if they should all happen to have the same head-quarters, and be gathered into the same focus, and, while independent of the Church, have a kind of connection and centralization among themselves. If we would maintain the establishment, we cannot but oppose all that splits or enfeebles it; and maintain the establishment we must, not merely because it were treachery and perjury to abandon it; but because in maintaining it, we maintain the best means to the highest end, we help to maintain Christianity itself in the greatness of its strength and the loveliness of its purity.

ART. IX.—*The Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, giving a history of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters, during the reign of Charles the First.* By the Rev. John Aiton, of Dolphinton. Smith and Elder, London. 1836.

ALEXANDER HENDERSON enjoys all the reputation which is attached to his name in this country, on account of the attempt he made to convert Charles the First to presbyterianism, and of the narrow escape he achieved from becoming a convert to the king's arguments. In the north, we find he has other claims to distinction; being considered the Knox of what is called the Second Reformation, and the successor of Andrew Melville, as the chief promoter of the Genevan discipline. According to Mr. Aiton's arrangement, the first reformation accomplished by the Scots was from Popery, and the second from Prelacy; twin corruptions, which from a very early period he suggests have darkened and debased the Christian commonwealth. The former delivered the people from transubstantiation, purgatory, and the despotism of the supreme pontiff; the latter freed them from bishops, the liturgy, and the Perth Articles. Dr. M'Crie celebrated the triumph gained by his countrymen over Rome, the mistress of nations; and the minister of Dolphinton comes forth to revive the pæans long since shouted by rustic mouths over the discomfiture of Laud, the rejection of the Prayer-book, and the suppression of Episcopacy.

As there is no composition more delightful than a well-written biography, so is there none more difficult to finish, in all the requisites of matter, method, and style. Where so much is necessary, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised, that something should be wanting in most of the productions of this kind which fall into our hands as professional critics; but, in all cases, we think ourselves entitled to expect the very ordinary qualifications of a little grammatical knowledge, an acquaintance with the more common rules for constructing sentences in English; and, above all, such a habit of reflection as will prevent an author from contradicting himself and writing arrant nonsense. Mr. Aiton unfortunately has brought to his task nothing besides zeal and a half-intellectual admiration of his subject, whose motives he has not been able to penetrate, and whose character he has not talent to unfold. Of Henderson, accordingly, considered in his powers of mind, his acquirements, his domestic habits, and literary pursuits, we know not any thing more distinctly when we arrive at the last page of this volume, than when we entered upon the first. We are told, indeed, that he began his career under the auspices,

and benefited by the patronage of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and that, upon some pretext, not clearly stated, he passed over to the other side, and became a most determined enemy of the episcopal order; that he accepted of a royal chaplaincy from Charles the First, and afterwards crossed the Tweed with the army, which was the principal means of bringing his sovereign to the block; and finally, that though he entered into public life a poor man, he acquired, amid the troubles which distracted his country and impoverished the best of her sons, such a mass of wealth as would, we are told, if it had been duly invested in land, yield 10,000*l.* a-year at the present day. In fact, Mr. Henderson's "will," in which the amount of his property is detailed, and which is infinitely more honourable to his thrift than to his self-denial or patriotism, is the only document having any claim to novelty that the research of his biographer has brought to light. Every thing else has been long before the world in the general histories of the period, and may there be read in better language and more lucid order than Mr. Aiton has bestowed upon his "Life and Times."

We have no pleasure in exposing the deficiencies of an author who has consented to devote his time, and, perhaps, spend his money, in order to gratify the curiosity or extend the knowledge of his contemporaries, on a subject which must ever prove interesting to the historical reader. But, in this case, the welfare of literature seems to demand from us a decided opinion, because we find that Mr. Aiton meditates a similar work, and will, probably, perpetrate a similar outrage on the memory of a man, not less distinguished than Henderson among his presbyterian brethren, and whose fame is less sullied in the estimation of all others. At the conclusion of his preface, he says, "The Life and Times of Mr. Robert Douglas, may next *fall* to be undertaken;" a notice which must be considered as equivalent to an avowal that he has resolved to charge himself with the duty of bringing forth "a work which would complete the biography of our Scottish ecclesiastical leaders, down to the Revolution in 1688, and would include a history of the Church of Scotland from 1649 to the Restoration; an important period hitherto left in almost total obscurity." This menace recalled to our minds the exclamation of the poet—

" O Douglas, Douglas ! if departed ghosts
Are e'er permitted to re-view this world"—

what must have been thy wrath and fear at the announcement of this presumptuous resolution ! The minister of Dolphinton, in short, has mistaken the path which his genius and acquirements have fitted him to pursue; and aspiring at things too high for

him, he will infallibly once more disappoint his friends, and supply an occasion of ridicule to those who have fewer reasons for personal attachment or forbearance. As he is apparently a young man, and obviously an unpractised writer, he may yet, by means of sedulous study, attain some mastery over the rudiments of composition and the principles of taste ; till which happy consummation be in some measure realized, he ought to abjure all intercourse with publishers, and avoid all exposure to the fiery furnace of criticism.

In an "Introduction," not remarkable for accurate statement or sound reasoning, we are supplied with an historical outline which connects the main events of the earlier Reformation with the commencement of that which it fell to the lot of Henderson to conduct a few stages in its progress. No Scotchman, we are persuaded, can read with pleasure the annals of his country from the death of James V. to the accession of William III. to the throne of the united kingdom. In remoter times, the countrymen of Wallace and Bruce appear to great advantage, as determined patriots ever ready to do and endure to the utmost of their power, in defence of national independence. Often defeated in the field, and frequently compelled to witness the most cruel devastations committed on their families and inheritances, they still clung to the hope that courage or good fortune would retrieve their affairs ; and at all events, they had resolved that, if their native land were over-run by the arms of a conqueror, he should find it a desolate wilderness, and without inhabitant. In their celebrated letter to the Pope, the Scottish barons declared, that so long as there were a hundred men alive, they would never submit to the English. But gold afterwards accomplished what the tempered swords and sharp arrows of the Edwards and Henrys had not been able to effect ; and the northern nobles became the mean pensioners of the nation whose power they had been able either to resist with success, or to evade without dishonour. No sooner did the second monarch of the Tudor race set his heart on an union of the two kingdoms under his son and the young queen of Scots, and, with this view, attempt to extend his new system of ecclesiastical polity into the dominions of the latter, than he found it expedient to address the avarice of the Caledonian chiefs, and to undermine their loyalty by annual grants of money and the promise of forfeited lands. Religion, to a certain extent, was wont to mingle in these negotiations ; and even when murder and treason were deliberately resolved on, the assassins allowed themselves to advert to the "godly intentions" of the king.

The main obstacle opposed to Henry's views on Scotland, arose from the patriotism or ambition of Cardinal Beaton, who,

during the feeble administration of the Earl of Arran, exerted himself with great effect in defence of his church, and for the independence, as he was pleased to regard it, of his country. Hence it became an object of importance in the eyes of the English king, to have this troublesome ecclesiastic removed from the scene of political contention; and, according to the simple views of those unsophisticated days, a direct assassination seemed a more convenient method than parliamentary impeachment or the intrigues of cabinet councillors. The scheme of murder was coolly proposed on the one side, and received with equal composure on the other. No delay or difficulty was occasioned by any compunctious feelings as to the horrible offence about to be committed against the laws of God and man; but a serious demur arose on the part of the Scottish nobles, with respect to the amount of the reward, and the security for its payment.

The plot for the "killing of the Cardinal," we are informed by a modern author, is entirely unknown either to our English or Scottish historians; and only now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, has been discovered in the secret correspondence of the State Paper Office. It appears that the Earl of Cassillis had addressed a letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, in which he made an offer to have the primate murdered, "if his majesty would have it done, and promise, when it was done, a reward." Sadler shewed this letter to the Earl of Hertford and the Council of the North, and by them it was transmitted to the king. The associates of Cassillis, to whom he had communicated his purpose, were the Earls of Angus, Glencairn, Marshall, and Sir George Douglas; and these persons requested that Forster, an English prisoner of some note, who could visit Scotland without suspicion, should be sent to Edinburgh to communicate with them on the design for cutting off Beaton. Hertford accordingly consulted the Privy Council upon his Majesty's wishes in this affair; requesting to be informed whether Cassillis's plan for the assassination of his powerful enemy was agreeable to the king, and whether Forster should be despatched into Scotland. Henry, conveying his wishes through the same Council, replied that it was his wish Forster should set off immediately. To the other part of the query, which respected the royal consent to the murder, the answer of the privy councillors was given in these terms: "His majesty hath willed us to signify to your lordship that his highness reputing the fact not meet to be set forward expressly by his Majesty, will not seem to have to do in it, and yet, not misliking the offer, thinketh good that Mr. Sadler, to whom that letter was addressed, should write to the Earl of the receipt of his letter containing such an offer, which he thinketh

not convenient to be communicated to the King's Majesty. Marry, to write to him what he thinketh of the matter; he shall say, that if he were in the Earl of Cassillis's place, and were as able to do his Majesty good service there, as he knoweth him to be, and thinketh a right good will in him to do it, he would surely do what he could for the execution of it, believing verily to do thereby not only an acceptable service to the King's Majesty, but also a special benefit to the realm of Scotland, and trust verily the King's Majesty would consider his service in the same; as you doubt not his accustomed goodness to those which serve him, but he would do the same to him."*

In this reply there was some address; for Henry thereby preserved, as he imagined, his royal dignity, and whilst he affected ignorance of the atrocious design, encouraged its execution, and shifted the whole responsibility on his agents. On both points the king's commands were obeyed. Sadler wrote to Cassillis in the indirect manner which had been pointed out; and Forster, in compliance with the wishes of the conspirators, was sent into Scotland, and had an interview with Angus, Cassillis, and Sir George Douglas; the subject of what passed at which is contained in his report, still preserved in the State Paper Office.† From this communication, it is evident that both Angus and Cassillis were deterred from committing themselves on such delicate ground as the proposed murder of the Cardinal, by the cautious nature of Sadler's epistle to the latter nobleman, in which, following the royal instructions, he had recommended the assassination of his Excellency, as if from his own judgment: and had affirmed, though falsely, that he had not communicated the project to the king. These two earls, therefore, said not a word to the envoy on the subject; although Cassillis, on his departure, entrusted him with a letter in cipher for Sadler. Sir George Douglas, however, was less timorous, and sent by Forster a message to the Earl of Hertford, in very explicit terms: "he willed me," says Mr. F., "to tell my lord lieutenant, that if the king would have the cardinal dead; if his grace would promise a good reward for the doing thereof, so that the reward were known what it should be, the country being lawless as it is, he thinketh that that adventure would be proved; for he seeth the common saying is, the Cardinal is the only occasion of the war, and is smally beloved in Scotland; and then, if he were dead, by what means that reward should be paid." Such was

* Privy Council to Hertford, May 30, 1545.

† The Discourse of Thomas Forster, gentleman, being sent into Scotland by my Lord Lieutenant, to speak to the Earls of Cassillis, Glencairn, Anguise, Marshall, and Sir George Douglas, being returned with the same to Dernton, the 4th July, 1545.

the simple proposal of Sir George Douglas for the removal of his arch enemy; but, although the English king had no objection to give the utmost secret encouragement to the conspiracy, he hesitated to offer such an outrage to the common feelings of Christendom, as to set a price upon the head of the Cardinal, and to secure a reward and indemnity to those who should slay him. For the moment, therefore, the scheme seemed to be abandoned by the earls, but it was only to be resumed by one of their confederates.*

The correspondence now mentioned, which had for its avowed object the assassination of the Scottish Primate, extended also to a plan for invading the country by the army under the Earl of Hertford, and for reducing a large portion of it to the dominion of Henry. It was not without reason, therefore, that the Cardinal denounced the leading patrons of the Reformation as traitors to their native sovereign, and as enemies of his throne. At the same period, too, the peace of the central counties was disturbed by the preaching of Wishart, a zealous reformer, who under the protection of the conspirators already so often named, stirred up the people to destroy the monasteries and other religious houses at Perth and Dundee. When checked in his iconoclastic rage by the magistrates of Edinburgh, he predicted the coming vengeance of God; a denunciation which his connection with Cassillis, Glencairn, and Crichton of Brunston, who were paving the way for an invasion of the most destructive nature, enabled him to pronounce with great certainty of its speedy fulfilment. The Cardinal, who was not altogether ignorant of the designs of his enemies, determined to make an example of Wishart. On the other hand, the preacher, aware of the danger which hung over him, was usually surrounded, when in public, by the warlike barons clad in mail, accompanied by their armed retainers; and ever since his life appeared in hazard, a two-handed sword was carried before him by some hired follower, and not unfrequently by the renowned John Knox, who learned from him the art of addressing the multitude, as well as of employing their physical force in the pious labours of demolition.

When the martyr was at length brought to the stake, in front of the archiepiscopal palace of St. Andrew's, he is said to have uttered a prophecy against the cardinal—who is described as gazing from a window upon the preparations for his execution—importing that Beaton himself would soon be made a spectacle in the same place. It is indeed doubted by the best historians, whether the words now alluded to were ever spoken; but, if they were,

* Tytler's History of Scotland, Vol. v. p. 387, and Appendix.

the gift of inspiration was not necessary to him who had lived in intimacy with those who had planned the prelate's murder, and whose hands were stayed from the bloody tragedy only by the hope of extracting from the purse of the English king a larger bribe than he thought such service could merit. The archbishop was soon afterwards put to death, though not by the daggers of those who had thus shamefully trafficked for his life. Melville, who inflicted the mortal blow, as if aware of the correspondence with Henry, exclaimed as he stood over his victim, "remember that the stroke I am now about to deal, is not the mercenary blow of a hired assassin, but the just vengeance which hath fallen on an obstinate and cruel enemy of Christ and the holy Gospel."

This event, which forms an epoch in the Scottish Reformation, has been viewed by authors in different lights, according to the bias of their respective principles. But to all of them the secret and long-continued correspondence of the conspirators with the English king, was entirely unknown; a circumstance which has led to much angry controversy among the zealots on both sides. By its disclosure, for which we are indebted to the able author whose writings are indicated above, we have been enabled to trace the secret history of those iniquitous times; and it may now be pronounced, without fear of contradiction, that the murder of Beaton was no sudden event, arising simply out of indignation for the fate of Wishart, but a crime long projected, and, so far as the principal conspirators were concerned, committed from private and mercenary considerations.*

The Reformation, which had so inauspicious a commencement, continued throughout to be opposed to the civil authority of the country, and to depend more or less on a traitorous connection

* The venality of the Scottish nobles at the period in question, is shameful and disgusting in the highest degree. The worst cases occurred among the prisoners taken at the Solway rout, including the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, and Glencairn. They promised to Henry the government of their country for the present, succession to the throne in the event of the young queen's death, occupation of all the capital fortresses and places of strength, and the delivery into his hands of the cardinal and another person, (Arran, the regent,) whom he regarded as his most dangerous opponents. The king, in a letter to the Duke of Suffolk, says, "they have not sticked to take upon them to set the crown of Scotland upon our head." He grudged the pensions which they received at his hands, and did not neglect to remind them that their promises of service had always exceeded the actual performance. The sums distributed to them are set down as follows:

To the Earl of Angus.....	200 <i>l.</i> sterling.
Glencairn.....	200 marks.
Cassillis	200 marks.
To the Master of Maxwell.....	100 <i>l.</i>
the Sheriff of Ayr	100 <i>l.</i>
the Laird of Drumlanrik	100 <i>l.</i>
the Earl of Marshall.....	300 marks.
Sir George Douglas	200 <i>l.</i>

with England, at that time a foreign and hostile nation. As long as the sovereign was Popish, the edge of popular resentment was directed against Catholic usages; and when the kings became Protestant, and laboured to uphold a moderate episcopacy, the zeal of the multitude was turned in favour of Presbyterianism. Hence, unfortunately for the Scottish character, the people were early taught that their duty to God was incompatible with obedience to their earthly rulers; and as the claims of heaven naturally superseded any which could arise from worldly relations, the arms they lifted against the law of the land were sanctified in their eyes by the service which they meant to perform in behalf of the Gospel. Accordingly when Beaton was murdered, the assassins seized his castle, set at defiance the commands of the regent, and applied to Henry for the aid of men and money to fight his battles. At this critical moment, Knox threw himself into the garrison in quality of chaplain, and assisted the rude warriors in providing means of defence at home, as well as in conducting their seditious correspondence with allies abroad. Thus was Scotland about to become the arena for French and English armies to decide their mutual quarrels, when the death of Henry occasioned a pause in these hostile proceedings, though not until the great reformer and the conspirators at St. Andrew's had surrendered to the military lieutenant of Francis, on condition of being carried into his dominions.

During the long reign of Elizabeth, the Protestants in Scotland yielded a more willing allegiance to her than to their own sovereign, even when the stumbling-block of Popery was altogether removed. The unhappiness of their position rendered them traitors at the moment they were following the dictates of conscience; and that politic queen, who knew the advantage of supporting a faction in the north opposed to the native princes, never failed to grant aid when their strength was much reduced, and to afford a ready asylum when they were compelled to flee. But it is obvious that the habit of resisting their own rulers and of relying upon foreign assistance, destroyed in their minds the very seeds of loyalty, and produced, even among the preachers, the unseemly spectacle of rebellion clothed in the garb of sanctity. The conduct of Knox in this respect is well known, and has left a deep stain on his reputation. Under a feigned name he wrote to Sir James Crofts, who commanded the English troops at Berwick, soliciting a reinforcement to aid the congregation against the queen regent, the mother of Mary. A treaty had just been concluded between France and Queen Elizabeth, which comprehended the Scots; whence arose a manifest obstacle to the armed interference of England in behalf of the rebels beyond

the Tweed. The reformer stated to Sir James, that in Scotland they had attempted to raise men by proclamation and beat of drum, (a strange employment for a divine!) but that partly from lack of money and partly from want of ardour in the cause, they had not succeeded in collecting any considerable number. For these reasons he entreated that money and soldiers should be sent to Edinburgh without delay. Aware however that the relations subsisting between the French and English might prove a bar to compliance with the request which he so intensely urged, he reminds Crofts that though those two nations were outwardly at peace they were at war in heart, and only waited opportunity to seize the first advantage. "If ye list to craft with them, the sending of a thousand or more men to us can break no league nor point of peace contracted between you and France; for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages. And if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, you may declare them rebels to your realm, when ye shall be assured that they be in our company." Sir James, in his reply, expressed much surprise at this strange request; which he said could not be granted without making his countrymen show themselves to be enemies where they had promised to be friends. "For as to your devices how to colour our doings in that part, you must think the world is not so blind but that it will soon espy the same; and surely we cannot *bona fronte* so colour and excuse the matter but that it will be expounded to be a plain breach of our league and treaty, whereby the honour of the prince cannot be a little touched. Wherefore, I pray you, require of us what we may do with honour and safety, and you shall not find us unwilling thereto."

Knox, although he evidently felt the reprimand of his military correspondent, did not consent to relinquish either the principle he had advanced, or the purpose which it was meant to serve. "Whether it may stand with wisdom, said he in his next letter, to have such respect to that which some men call honour, that in the mean time I may see my friend perish, both to his destruction and mine, I refer to the judgment of the most honourable. If you understand the danger as I do, love would compel you sometimes to exceed the bounds of your commission, if you can find no means secretly to convey such liberality as friends with you are pleased to bestow upon such as cannot otherwise serve. In a few words, sir, if you join not with us in open resistance, we shall both repent when the remedy will be more difficult."

Being in arms against their sovereign, and acting in defiance of law, every advantage gained by the reformers must have been considered by the more impartial and patriotic of their country-

men, as a victory achieved over the constitution to which they had pledged their obedience; and it would appear that, from the moment they began to fight for an ascendancy which allowed no toleration, they lost the sympathy of all who had any affection for their native land. The people at large, finding that there was no longer any obstacle to their worship, agreeably to the purer system of belief to which they had recently attained, became very generally indifferent to the issue of the contest. It is accordingly admitted by Knox himself, that, unless assistance were forwarded from England, in men, money and warlike stores, the royalists could hardly fail to attain an ultimate triumph.

This union of religion and perfidy, accompanied the Scots throughout the greater part of their reformation; for when by means of foreign influence they had driven their unhappy queen across the Solway Firth, they pursued the same policy against her son, who, in his turn, was doomed to sustain the jealousy or resentment of Elizabeth. But it was when Charles the First ascended the throne that rebellion became fully matured, and its objects clearly exposed to light. There still remains, indeed, a dark portion of that troubled land on which the beams of history have not yet shed a satisfactory radiance; the spot, namely, where the views of the English patriots and the Scotch covenanters originally met, and whence their co-operation and mutual understanding took their rise. That there was a secret treaty between these powerful bodies has never been doubted, while the aid which they afforded to each other leaves no obscurity as to its intention; but whether the first movement was made from the north or from the south, continues to be merely a subject of conjecture. The king himself, on one occasion, thought he had discovered the thread which was to guide his steps through that labyrinth of intrigue and treachery; a result which would probably have implicated several names in both divisions of the island, towards which the royal suspicion had never been directed. But though he failed in this attempt, he could no longer remain ignorant that, in Scotland especially, he was betrayed by those in whom he placed the highest confidence, who held the most important offices under his government, and who enjoyed the best patronage he had to bestow.

Mr. Aiton devotes a chapter to a consideration of the question, "Who began the war in Scotland, the king or the covenanters?" If by the beginning of the war he meant the preparation for battle, or the first actual appearance in the field, the question is of small importance, because a hostile position may be assumed long before a sword is drawn or a manifesto issued. The party therefore who so far changes the relation of things, that the con-

tinuance of peace shall be impossible, ought certainly to be regarded as giving a commencement to the war; and according to this principle, there cannot be any doubt that the covenanters originated the civil strife which for a time levelled the throne, extinguished the royal power, and overthrew the church. No sooner had Charles's third parliament been dissolved, than the puritans, political and religious, anticipated the hazard of a grand national movement against the pretensions of the crown and the despotic principles of the cabinet. The Scotch were full of discontent for reasons in some degree peculiar to themselves, and therefore lent a ready ear to the murmurs which reached them from the south, as well through the medium of the patriots, who could no longer figure in the House, as of the non-conformists, who still cherished their sullen thoughts over the grievance of the ceremonies. Pym and Hampden repaired frequently to Edinburgh, where they held counsel with the republicans of the north, and concerted their plans for advancing the common cause. From an early period, indeed, the measures of the covenanters were regulated by their confederates among the patriotic party in England; and we find accordingly, that, in the year 1639, when the Scots crossed the Tweed with an army, they thought themselves entitled to complain of broken promises, and to lament that the co-operation of their allies among the disaffected did not go beyond verbal encouragement. We learn this from Principal Baillie, who accompanied the invaders, and who remarks, "the hope of England's conjunction is but small, for all the good words we heard *long ago* from our friends—all this time, when their occasion was great to have kythed (shown) their troth to us and their own liberties, there was naught among them but either a deep sleep or silence."

D'Israeli justly observes, that the Scots were our tutors in the artifices of popular democracy, and those mysteries of insurgency which afterwards were systematized by ourselves. They were the contrivers of that terrific revolutionary engine—a mobocracy; and it was from them that we learnt how to organize a people in vast masses, so as to assemble or disperse them at will. Their petitions and remonstrances served as our models, when in a similar submissive style of loyalty, they kept drilling throughout the whole kingdom. This subtle party ever practised the arts of political flattery; at the moment they were insolent in the success of their arms, they apologised for their invasion; and his majesty's loyal subjects of Scotland were only rebellious in their acts. In the fall of the hierarchy, through all its stages, the English Commons were but the servile imitators of the Scottish covenanters. The leaders of faction both at home and in Scot-

land were indeed but few; they had however engaged the whole people on their side by concealing their own design, which was a subversion of the government, and by making religion their ostensible object, carefully keeping out of view all the while the private interests and personal jealousies, which were in fact the main stimulus in all their proceedings.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the tyranny of Charles had proceeded so far as to endanger the best interests of society, civil liberty and religious freedom, and that opposition to his government was perfectly justifiable on all the broad and acknowledged principles on which a regulated allegiance is founded, it does not follow, assuredly, that those employed by the king had a right to betray him, or that the persons who were loudest in their professions of fidelity should have been the first to stain their souls with perjury. Lord Lorn, for example, afterwards more famous as Duke of Argyle, and who became the head of the Covenanters, had largely shared in honours and emoluments, though he was all the while devoted to the popular party, and threw not off his mask, until he apprehended that his arts were detected at court, or that the Earl of Antrim would be allowed to press his claims on some of the ducal lands. It is said that he was displeased at his majesty for refusing the chancellorship, which was conferred on the Archbishop of St. Andrews; but if we may trust to the accuracy of Guthry's Memoirs, he himself assigns another reason, still less creditable to his honesty. When he had openly joined the Covenanters, he assured them that "from the beginning he had been theirs, and would have held to the cause as soon as any did, had it not been that he conceived that by attaching himself to the king, and going along with his council, he was more useful to them than had he from the first declared himself."

Earl Traquair, again, though openly professing friendship for the bishops and conforming himself to the schemes of his royal master, was also their secret enemy. He imagined that these ecclesiastics were intriguing with Maxwell, the Bishop of Ross, and that this prelate, the ablest and most ambitious of his order, was grasping at the treasurer's staff, which the earl himself held. Whatever ground there might be for this suspicion, he lent his influence to those who meditated the utter ruin of the Scottish church; and with this view he is described as having stimulated Laud and his party to the most unpopular as well as the most imprudent measures; talked to them in their own language; blamed the older bishops as timorous phlegmatic creatures whose sees ought to be filled by more active spirits, and pledged "his life" to carry them through the business, were he entrusted with its

execution. Laud, accordingly, put his trust in the younger prelates, and these last in Traquair; and soon after the earl was appointed, he signed the Covenant which abolished Episcopacy.

Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, was at once the tool and the leader of the Covenanters; serving them with greater zeal than he served his master, whose confidence he had gained and whose interests he was bound to protect. This subtle lawyer had a great command over Charles, who employed him to recover the church lands, of which the nobles had formerly defrauded the crown; but by his delays and evasions every one perceived that he was acting in concert with the high personages who had enriched themselves by plunder. In fact, the skill of his majesty's advocate was usually displayed in thwarting the measures of his majesty's government; and though he could not appear openly in the cause he had secretly espoused, he failed not to supply the legal knowledge by means of which the enemies of the court were enabled to cover and finally to accomplish their traitorous objects.

The characters of the two Hamiltons, the Marquis and the Earl of Lanerick, have been either too deep or too shallow to be sounded by the plumb-line of history. The ambiguous conduct of the former, greatly suspected in his own times, does not appear either more distinct or intelligible after it has been made the subject of inquiry during two hundred years. If he did not betray his sovereign, he contrived, by his inactivity when at the head of armies, and by his strange concessions whenever he came to treaty with the insurgents, to inflict upon the royal cause all the inconvenience, and perhaps more than the loss, which would have resulted from open treason.

It is well known that there existed a Scottish faction at court closely connected with the Puritans and Patriots. The Earl of Haddington, brother-in-law to the Earl of Rothes, the first conspicuous leader of the Covenanters, remained at Whitehall. The former, who afterwards ranked himself under the same banner, entered into the intrigues of the Earls of Holland and Warwick, and with the Lords Say, Brooke, and Wharton, the chiefs of the opposition. "Little William Murray," too, of the bed-chamber, was not less active than the others in plotting the downfall of his indulgent master; and though he had enjoyed his confidence from childhood, he saw neither shame nor sin in revealing his most important secrets. It is not only from Clarendon that we learn the faithlessness of this domestic agent; we draw it also from an impartial witness in De Montrueil, the French ambassador, who accompanied Charles in the last critical period of his life. At a moment when the unhappy monarch was medi-

tating to emigrate, the plan was left entirely to Murray, who was ever assuring the king of its safety; yet, adds the envoy, he is very careful to hinder the king from employing those who certainly are as able as himself, and far more sincere. Murray insisted in reiterating his doubts that Ashburnham would deceive his majesty; but the impartial Frenchman sarcastically concludes "that these honest persons, so zealous for their prince, had two displeasures; the one that their master is betrayed, and the other that it is not they themselves who betray him." Whether, says D'Israeli, it was the love of country or concealed ambition, or some motive less honourable, the insincerity of the Scotch about the person of Charles is very remarkable, from the nobleman to the domestic. They remained still Scottish in their hearts, and found as little compunction in betraying the secrets of their master, as the nation afterwards experienced in selling him. Of their loose notions of gratitude, too, we have a remarkable instance in the case of General Lesley, whom his majesty thought proper to create Earl of Leven. At this unexpected honour the old soldier was so transported, that even on his knees he swore that he would not only never bear arms against the king, but would serve him without asking the cause. This was the paroxysm of his loyalty; for in less than two years he led a Scottish army into the south, to wrest the sceptre from him to whom he owed the distinction which he so highly valued.

It is lamentable to observe that patriots should so often be constrained to assume the characters of conspirators, and to leave the open and honourable path of truth for dark and intricate plots. The mind becomes degraded by the artifices it practises, and cunning and subtlety are substituted for those generous emotions and that nobler wisdom which separate, at a vast interval, the real lover of his country from the intriguing partizan. Archbishop Spottiswood was so sensible of the infidelity of his countrymen, that he offered himself as a personal sacrifice; advising Charles to have a list prepared of all his councillors, his household officers and domestic servants, and with his own pen expunge all the Scots, beginning with the archbishop himself, which would at least prevent any complaint of partiality. The state secrets even of the privy council were betrayed. Charles appointed a commission with the view of making a discovery; confessing in the warrant which he issued for this purpose, that "by what ways or means they were revealed and disclosed is not yet manifested to us."*

In the progress of rebellion such characters may be found to

* D'Israeli's *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First*, vol. iv. p. 22. Most of the anecdotes mentioned in the text will be found in the 3d and 4th volumes of this interesting work.

appear in all countries ; persons may be seen offering themselves as the instruments of revenge or ambition, even to the extent of the taking away of life ; the murderer may be heard higgling about the price of his crime, and labouring to secure the payment of his thirty pieces of silver ; domestic treason may be seen prevailing in the high as well as in the low places of society ; and the dearest confidence ever pledged between man and man may be betrayed for the love of gold or the interests of faction. But in Scotland, unfortunately for the reputation of her people in those evil days, the horrid offences now stated were usually perpetrated in the name of religion ; and from the assassination of Cardinal Beaton down to the execution of Charles the First on the scaffold, the holy cause of faith and hope was associated with the darkest intrigues of the mercenary conspirator, as well as with the open violence and insolent triumphs of insurrection.

About the time Henderson appeared on the scene, the spirit which began to be manifested by his party was so inconsistent with the duty of loyal subjects, that, even in the absence of all records illustrative of their intentions, it might be inferred they had already determined on war. It is found, accordingly, that, while they were negotiating with Hamilton as the representative of their sovereign, they were also employed in awakening the interest of foreign powers in their behalf, and in purchasing arms for the use of their followers at home. Even in the year 1637 resolutions were passed in the committee of lords, barons, ministers and burgesses, who then, in defiance of the king, exercised the government of Scotland, respecting military stores and implements. It was also agreed, in the same convention, that a certain sum of money should be raised upon the owners of land, to defray the expenses of their administration, as well as to enable them to take the field, should such an expedient be found necessary.

Nor were their preparations confined to the resources of their native land ; but, suppressing for a season their wonted aversion to Roman Catholics, they wrote a letter to the French king, in which, after reminding him that he was the refuge and sanctuary of all afflicted princes and states, they expressed their assurance of obtaining from him a degree of assistance corresponding to his accustomed clemency ; and they conclude by declaring that the Scots will not yield to any other nation the glory of being for ever his very obedient and most affectionate servants. It is true that scruples among the clergy, as well as other reasons affecting the relations at that time subsisting between the two countries, prevented the expected aid from being actually sent. One of their authors remarks, " we were hopeful of powerful assistance

from abroad if we would have required it. France would not have failed to embrace our protection: Holland and we were but one in our cause. They had been much irritated lately by the king's assistance of the Spaniard. Denmark was not satisfied with many of our prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the crown of Britain since his war with the Emperor. Sweden was fully ours to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germany. But we resolved to make no use of any friendship abroad, till our cause was more desperate than we yet took it. We still hoped to bring off our prince by fair means, which had not been so easy if we had once brought foreign forces within the isle. We were hopeful, by the assistance of God, to make our party good by ourselves alone. The assistance of Lutherans, let be of Papists, at this time was to our divines a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt. Above all, a league with foreigners had made England of necessity our enemy, the evil in the world we most declined, and our adversaries did most aim at. The less our design was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good use of our means at home. Much help we got from good General Lesley, who sat daily with our general committees. We intended to give him, when the time of need came, as we did, the charge of our generalissimo, with the style of "His Excellence;" but for the present he was diligent without any charge to call home officers of his regiment, to send for powder, muskets, pikes, and cannon; wherein from Holland, Sweden and Germany we were pretty well answered."*

The French government, at that period under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, desirous to perplex the affairs of the English king, and to sow dissension among the Protestants in this country, made a favourable return to the applications of the confederated lords who had placed themselves at the head of the Covenanters. Chambers, a priest of Scottish extraction, and who was at once almoner to the Cardinal and nephew to Con, the papal nuncio, was repeatedly sent into his native country to watch the motions of the two great parties, to inflame their mutual resentment, and to excite a spirit of hostility to the monarch. This individual afforded a channel of communication between his patron, the Cardinal, and the disaffected nobles; and as these last were chiefly influenced in their measures by a regard to secular considerations, they refused not to accept the aid, whether of arms or of money, which the French minister had at his disposal. Large supplies of warlike stores were accordingly sent by the way of Holland; and a hundred thousand crowns were confided to the care of General Lesley, who had undertaken to

* Baillie, vol. i. p. 153.

discipline such of the rustic insurgents as might flock to the banners of the renovated faith.

It is thus perfectly manifest that the Covenanters had not only anticipated the hazard of war, but had even made preparations for it before Charles perceived the full necessity of an appeal to arms. In fact, the noblemen who were most active in opposing the King's government in Scotland, found it necessary from time to time to keep alive in the minds of the people the feeling of discontent and suspicion, which the repeated concessions already made to their wishes had nearly allayed. When, for example, the Service-book and the Canons were withdrawn, and the High Court of Commission was so restricted as to present no danger to personal freedom, the great body of the nation were satisfied. At this epoch accordingly, when peace seemed about to return, and the popular excitement was fast subsiding into repose, Lord Rothes states that the leaders of the faction "did find it necessarie to sett out something for informing the people in the nature of our desires, that so, they being found so necessarie, might not be deceived, nor taken with the suggestiones of such as thought the discharge of the books and the tempering of the High Commission sufficient." With this view they employed Johnston of Wariston, and the Rev. Alexander Henderson, to draw up a manifesto for the public eye, entitled, "The least that can be asked to settle this Church and Kingdome in a solid and durable peace." The conditions stated in this pamphlet paved the way for the Resolutions of the celebrated Assemblies held at Glasgow in 1638, and at Edinburgh in August, 1639, by which Episcopacy was not only abolished as the form of government recently established in the Church of Scotland, but as positively unlawful in itself, and destitute of all scriptural authority.

Viewing their conduct simply as that of men who had determined to resist their sovereign by force, and to introduce, whether with or without his consent, certain changes in the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical, now deemed indispensable to their independence as the subjects of a free state, the reader will not make haste to condemn the means which the Covenanters adopted for the accomplishment of their object. But a candid mind will find some difficulty in extending a similar indulgence to them, when he weighs their actions in connection with the loud and ardent expressions of loyalty they were constantly directing towards the throne, which they certainly meant to humble, if not to overturn. Viewed as following the maxims of avowed rebels, they were not to be blamed for their efforts to combine against their king the power of France, Holland, Sweden and Denmark, and even to invite foreign troops to land upon the shores of England in the

capacity of their allies. It is, however, less within the range of that sober philosophy which examines the ordinary principles of human action, to discover motives which could incite the enemies, and even arm the subjects of their lawful prince, to oppose him in the field of battle, and at the same time dictate the most fulsome declarations of love, fealty and devotion to his cause. While they were writing to the King of France to assist them with men, money and weapons; while they had agents on the continent collecting pikes, powder, muskets and cannon, they still expressed the deepest sorrow at being thought mutinous or rebellious; "the imputation whereof," they said, "was intolerable unto them who had God to be their witness that they would rather undergo death itself than be guilty of that sin." They further declare, "that never any such word or motion had been among them that tended farther than humble to supplicate, as the most submissive way allowed to the meanest of subjects; and therefore that they behoved to clear themselves by a petition to his majesty."

In these singular proceedings there is nothing so remarkable as the gratuitous and despicable insincerity which runs through the whole of them; their words being as soft as butter, while in fact they were very swords. Henderson had his full share in all the transactions which preceded the actual appeal to arms; he is suspected to have organized the opposition and planned the attack which disgraced the cathedral of Giles, in the month of July, 1637; and he is known to have managed the Glasgow Assembly, which left to Charles no other alternative than either to sanction the deeds of rebels, or to repress them with a strong hand. But before we advert to these occurrences in a manner somewhat more particular, we shall follow the progress of the Scottish Reformation, and mark how closely it still connected its interests with sedition at home, and a traitorous correspondence abroad.

A few years after Charles the Second had been seated on the throne the Covenanters again flew to arms, in order to fulfil the obligations of their national oath. Being defeated in battle, considerable severities were inflicted on them by the provincial government, little to the honour of those by whom its laws were administered; no sufficient distinction being made between the leaders and their less guilty adherents, many of whom had been seduced into treason under the most deceitful pretences. The object of the former, it is now ascertained, embraced a complete revolution in Church and State, which they hoped to accomplish by the assistance of foreign powers. The principal persons who embarked in this scheme, had for some time carried on a correspondence with the United Provinces, (then at war with England,)

and even received promises of aid from that quarter. This will be made manifest by the following extract from the Register of the Secret Resolutions of the States-General, dated 15th July, 1666.

“ It was notified in the Assembly that overtures had been made by certain friends of religion in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, who had resolved without delay to seize upon the first good opportunity for vindicating from constraint and oppression the reformed worship of God, to take arms, and do their utmost to get possession of some one or more towns or fortresses lying in the foresaid King of Great Britain’s dominions. Their high mightinesses, therefore, feel themselves here called upon to give assurance, that, how soon soever they shall be masters of one or more such towns or forts, assistance shall be promptly sent to them, and arms and ammunition of war expedited to such town.”

Among the articles to be sent for the foot were 3000 muskets, 1000 matchlocks, 1500 pikes, and 10 brass field-pieces; and for the cavalry, 2000 brace of pistols, all with snap-locks, and 1000 horsemen’s carbines. Besides these supplies in arms and ammunition, there was promised a subsidy of 150,000 *gulden*. This resolution is signed by the President Van Vryberg; and the Pensionary De Witt formally declares, “ that no time shall be lost in getting every thing ready in conformity with the decision of the States-General, when wanted.”*

The Scottish government in the meanwhile received information that some such plot was concerted, and even that the disturbances in the west, the hot-bed of the insurrection, were connected with a scheme for inviting an enemy into the country. As a proof of this, when M’Kail, one of the clerical leaders, was taken prisoner, his brother, a physician, interceded with the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s for his life. The primate replied, that he would befriend the captive minister, if he would reveal the mystery of the plot; for “ there was, indeed, a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton, in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done.”† This fact, recently brought to light, constitutes at once a reason and an apology for some of the punishments which were inflicted after the defeat of the rebels. The number who lost their lives was not great; and all of them would have been pardoned, had they consented to renounce the covenant, that bond of sedition and source of rebellion. Burnet tells us, that most of them were but mean and inconsiderable men in all respects; and the arm of the law, it is to be regretted, did not reach those who were really guilty—the authors of the insurrection; for, to this day, it is not

* M’Crie’s *Memoirs of Veitch, Brysson and Wallace*, p. 378.

† MS. quoted by Dr. M’Crie, p. 36.

known who the individuals were who solicited an army from the coast of Holland to drive the king from his throne, and who consented to accept from a people actually at war with their sovereign, treasure, arms and ammunition.

The undutiful and treacherous conduct of the Scots in the age of Charles the First may perhaps be ascribed, in some degree, to the infelicity of their situation, and not to any inherent bias towards deceit, tumult and rebellion. But it was not without surprise that we read, in the volume now before us, that "loyalty is a plant indigenous to their soil," and that in those days it was trodden under foot only because the Covenanters esteemed Presbyterianism as the green pasture from which alone they could procure spiritual food. An historian, who knew his countrymen better than Mr. Aiton, acknowledges that "the Scotch were seldom distinguished for loyalty," though this remark applied rather to the insubordination of the nobles than to the temper of the peasantry, who are always quiet when unassailed by demagogues.* At all events, it was the policy of the lords, barons and ministers, who raised the standard of revolt in 1639, to profess the most loyal feelings and unbounded attachment to their prince; and, more especially, it was their rule, whenever war was in their hearts, to have peace in their mouths. For example, no sooner had they invaded England, gathered a few loose laurels which the royal leaders purposely dropped from their brows, and taken possession of Newcastle, than they addressed to the king a humble petition, deprecating the evils of protracted hostility, and entreating the renewal of friendly relations between their good sovereign and his loving subjects. To justify their conduct to the world, too, they dispersed a couple of manifestoes, of which the one was entitled, "Six Considerations of the Lawfulness of their Expedition into England;" and the other, "Intentions of the Scots and their Army made known to their Brethren of England." In these papers they took great pains to show that their motive in making such an inroad at the head of 20,000 men, was not to invade the kingdom, but simply to defend themselves against Strafford, Laud, and other enemies! They maintained that the king had begun the war, because, after consenting that the General Assembly should have power to order the affairs of the Church, he had dissolved parliament before all the decisions of the ecclesiastical board had obtained a legal sanction. It could not be surprising, therefore, that his majesty should have answered these appeals to the public by a royal proclamation, declaring the Scots rebels, and their declarations to be false and treasonable.

But the Covenanters knew the spirit of Charles's army and

* Laing's History of Scotland.

people more intimately than he himself did; they had been assured by trusty envoys from the cabinet of the patriots, that, if they began the work in earnest, they should meet with little disturbance on the part of the English; and they had been encouraged to hope that their troops, whom they found it inconvenient to maintain north of the Tweed, would be amply supplied with meat and wages when encamped on the banks of the Tyne. Only one difficulty presented itself to the ardent soldiers of the covenant before they crossed the border, the lawfulness, namely, of bearing arms against their king. "They set themselves," says Mr. Aiton, "to diligent reading and prayer for light in that question, which the times required peremptorily to be determined 'without delay;' and, as might have been expected, their objections gradually gave way to the views of expediency which were expanding before their eyes. But if

"Henderson and some of the leaders of the party entered on this war with reluctance, it would appear at least, from some of the historians, that the clergy in general had none. Of all men they were the busiest by fasting, preaching and prayer. They made the pulpits ring almost every day with declamations on the subversion of civil liberty and the ruin of religion. They told their flocks, that, unless they acquitted themselves like men, all of them might look for bondage and popery."

After a time,

"they advanced in three divisions towards Newcastle; and on the 26th August they concentrated their forces at Frewich. Here they sent dispatches to the commander of the English army, and another to the mayor of Newcastle, stating the motives of their march, and requiring a free passage through the town, that they might lay their grievances before his majesty. But, as these were returned unopened, the Covenanters marched up the Tyne about five miles to Newburn, where the river was passable at low water. Here Lord Conway had taken up, on the south side of the river, a position, which he had fortified with a view to oppose the passage of the ford. But Lesley not only forced it, but put the English army to the rout, and made himself master of Newcastle, where he found a supply of provisions and 5000 stand of arms, with an army of 10,000 men. The Covenanters made a sort of triumphal entry into the town by the bridge. On Sunday a public dinner was given to the general and a considerable number of the committee, when the king's health was drank with great enthusiasm."

We find that the usual inconsistency between word and action still continued. They beat the royal army, seized one of his majesty's forts, his supplies and ammunition, and then they drank flowing bumpers in his honour, coupled, we may presume, with the usual expressions of loyalty. Nay, it was declared in their articles of war, that "every man who opened his mouth against the king's authority or person, should be punished as a traitor;" a sin-

gular penalty to be denounced by a host of rebels, all of whom had forfeited their lives to the public law of the nation.

But the story of that civil commotion has been too often told to justify, on our part, any further details respecting the battles, sieges and treaties which diversified its progress. We are tempted, however, to introduce a reflection given by the author in his best manner, who, speaking of the Scottish ministers, great numbers of whom followed the army, informs us that

“ many of them, who were not enthusiasts, even imagined that they felt the favour of the Almighty shining upon them, and declared that they were conscious of a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement spirit, which led them along. But, bright as this prospect really was, a keen eye might already have detected the black spot which in time was sure not only to darken the colours, but to rot the canvass. This was the juxta-position and jarring of the military and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which in a camp are altogether incompatible. At first the authority of those clergy and elders who combined in themselves nearly the whole talent and influence of Scotland, was confined entirely to exhortations and prayers, to the strictest exercise of church discipline, and to the care of the poor ; and for a time there was little interference on their part with the mere military department. But they first began to advise, then to direct, till in the end they usurped the management, and compelled their general near Dunbar, where he had caught and kept Cromwell fairly in the trap, to adopt a measure which forthwith led to their destruction. Situated as Lesley was, he might well say, as he often did, that he could not please everybody.”

We have quoted these remarks for the sake of the little vein of thought they contain, without thinking it necessary to take any particular notice of the historical blunder on which they are apparently founded, namely, that the General Lesley who led the Covenanters into England, was not the same officer who encountered the Protector at Dunbar. It is possible, however, that, in this instance, the ambiguous language of the author is more at fault than his knowledge of facts.

The most remarkable events in the life of Henderson, so far as they can be considered apart from his public career, are his conversion to the cause of Presbyterianism; his conduct immediately previous to the Glasgow Assembly; and his conference or disputation with King Charles on ecclesiastical polity. We find that he was originally a strong advocate for Episcopacy—was in favour with the men in power—and enjoyed the patronage of Gladstones, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, by whom he was appointed to a parochial charge. He was also a professor in the university of that ancient city, in which office he appears to have distinguished himself by his zeal and talents; but his notions as a churchman rendered him unpopular among his parishioners, who were not

able to appreciate his learning, and not disposed to profit by his instructions. The accession of Spotswood to the archiepiscopal see, however, produced a change in the sentiments of this aspiring minister. The new prelate neglected him, or, at least, did not prize his talents and value his co-operation so much as he expected; thereby wounding his pride, and disappointing his prospects. His biographer, of course, labours to obviate the impressions that such considerations could induce the accomplished incumbent of Leuchars to embrace the cause which he had hitherto opposed, and abjure the tenets he had maintained throughout his professional life. The reader is requested to believe that

“above all these motives, by which Henderson may have been partly actuated, there cannot be a doubt but that a far purer principle—a general anxiety to be useful in guiding his people to godliness—was already daily entering deeper into his heart, and leading him, even before he was fully aware of it, into the ranks of his former opponents.”

The charity which thinketh no evil will prompt the benevolent reader so far as to acknowledge, that men sometimes proceed in a direction quite opposite to the line of their worldly interests, and consequently that the cloud which came over the sun of Mr. Henderson's official attachments and prospects, had no effect whatever in withdrawing his support from the Church. It is manifest, however, that the wound inflicted on his pride, and his diminished hope of promotion under the new archbishop, will for ever preclude the unanimity which Mr. Aiton is so desirous to establish in his favour. There is even in his conversion, more strictly considered, an appearance of preparation, which cannot be contemplated without some rather painful suspicions. Having resolved to quit his former ranks, it seemed expedient that an occasion should be either embraced or created, for avowing the sentiments now matured, in such a way as to secure due attention. Henderson, being informed that Bruce, a celebrated preacher among the Presbyterians, was to do duty in a neighbouring parish, resolved to hear him; but, that he might not be recognized, he repaired to an obscure corner of the church, and sat down without attracting the gaze of any eye.

“From his lurking-place he saw the veteran ascend the pulpit, with his usual easy carriage and countenance very majestic. In prayer Bruce was short, but every sentence, like a strong bolt, shot up to heaven. When he rose up to preach, he, as his custom was, stood silent for a time. This astonished Henderson a little, but he was much more moved by the first words the preacher uttered, which were those of the Lord,—‘He that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber.’ Henderson, by nature pliant and pious,

felt at once as if the opinions he had hitherto entertained were founded in quicksand. The text and sermon which followed it, sent home to his conscience, and accompanied by the blessing of God, he afterwards frequently owned to be the instrument of his first conversion. Of the many thousands gained by the labours of Bruce, Henderson was justly esteemed the best fish caught in the net."

Mr. Aiton candidly subjoins, that "there seems to have been more than a mere singular coincidence in this story, and especially in the choice and application of the text. Probably Bruce had either known Henderson, or known that such a man was present." Most readers will admit the probability of this conjecture, as the sermon was really *preached at* the minister of Leuchars, who had entered into his parish by the door of episcopal presentation and institution; a mode of approach which he was now longing for an opportunity to pronounce unscriptural, and equivalent to climbing up in an unlawful way. What shall we think of the man whose principles as a churchman were undermined by a declamatory harangue, supposed to be extemporaneous, pronounced by a person who himself was not in holy orders of any description, and who derided all official authority in a minister, whether conferred by a bishop, or by a presbytery? According to Bruce, the only door, by which a pastor could regularly enter the fold, was the voice of the people; which nomination superseded in all cases the necessity of the Apostolic usage of the laying on of hands, and of prayer. The Episcopalian, who could be converted by such arguments as Henderson was likely to hear, must have been extremely eager for change, and longing for the gentle violence which was necessary to complete his apostacy.

There is also some allusion to his having been refused a degree in divinity; a slight which, it is supposed, may have rankled in his mind, and weighed with him not a little in forming the determination to abandon his old friends. But Mr. Aiton, by a species of logic familiar to his habits of thinking, satisfies himself that the withholding of this compliment must have followed, rather than preceded, his adoption of what he calls the "new line of policy;"

"for," says he, "as Spotswood was an arch politician, he would have gladly paid this retaining fee to an advocate for episcopacy of Henderson's talents and learning, if the price would have bought him. The only just conclusion, therefore, seems to be, that this title was withheld from him merely on account of his prior defection."

At all events, we must rest satisfied with the explanation now given, unless we prefer the one suggested by the views of a certain Carmichael and his associates, who not only declined the

honours of an academical degree, but resolutely opposed this creation of doctors, as "introducing confusion among the ecclesiastical officers of Christ's appointment."

Henderson covered his advances against the constitution of the Church, which he overthrew at Glasgow, by introducing speculative doubts as to the apostolical authority of episcopacy in general, and more especially as to the form which that polity had assumed in Scotland since the year 1606. At a later period, when he had accomplished his object in the north, and found himself at the head-quarters of the covenanting army in England, he boldly pronounced all imparity among Christian ministers to be unscriptural and decidedly unlawful. His biographer, hastening to supply him with that kind of assistance which always sends to the bottom the drowning man, who might otherwise save himself, undertakes to prove, that by the First Book of Discipline, the original platform of the Protestant Church in Scotland, no countenance was given even to a "phantom of prelacy." There is not, he maintains, in that book a single sentence which, by fair construction, can be said to advocate episcopacy. But with his usual coherence of reason and argument, he remarks—

"It is needless to deny that in this first standard of Protestant belief different orders of ministers and officers of the Church are appointed; and that instead of a Presbyterian parity among those set apart to the ministry, three classes of teachers are enumerated: first, there are superintendents, who are certainly invested with powers similar in many respects to those of the bishops, especially in so far as they had provinces or dioceses in which they resided, and tried the lives and diligence of the clergy; secondly, there are parochial clergy, who are enjoined to discharge ministerial duties in one parish only; and thirdly, there are readers, whose duty it is to read the Scriptures and Common Prayer to the people. At first sight, these different orders of office-bearers seem to indicate that the Reformation was partly episcopal: but after all, the most that can be said on this point is, that they present the shadow without the substance of prelacy." "As the best argument on this matter is the statement of facts, it is proper to mention further, that the form and order of the admission of John Spotswood is preserved. It is penned by Knox, and in the doxology of the prayer by which he is set apart, the reformer owns Christ to be their Lord, King, and *only* Bishop. The whole manner of procedure is detailed so as to exclude even the phantom of prelacy, and the exercise of all dominion whatsoever over their brethren the other pastors."

We agree with the author in thinking, that on all such subjects, where the opinions of men are necessarily various, the best argument is an appeal to facts; and as Knox's liturgy or the Genevan form now lies before us, we shall quote two or three sentences

from the "Order of the Election of the Superintendent." After sermon, then, by John Knox,

"it was declared by the same minister, maker thereof, that the Lords of Secret Counsell had given charge and power to the churches of Lowthian to choose M. John Spoteswood superintendent, and that sufficient warning was made by public edict to the churches of Edinborough, Linlithgow, Striveling, Trenant, Haddington, and Dunbar; as also to earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, or other that have or that might claim to have voyce in election, to be present at the same hour."

It thus appears that the official duties of this order of ministers, so far from being confined to one parish, extended to those of several counties, and, in the present case, to four of the most populous shires in Scotland. The authors of the Book of Discipline knew perfectly well that the terms bishop, superintendent and overseer, were strictly equivalent; and they accordingly used them all as occasion seemed to require, as applicable to the same office. "Will you acknowledge this your brother for the minister of Jesus Christ, your *overseer* and pastor?"—is one of the questions put by Knox to the clergy and people at the admission of their diocesan. The reformer, too, in his prayer on this occasion, employed the following expression: "Send unto this our brother, whom, in thy name, we have charged with the *chief care* of the Church within the bounds of Lowthian, such portion of thy holy spirit as thereby he may rightly divide thy word to the instruction of thy flock."

It is remarkable, too, that the compilers of the Book of Discipline were distinguished for prelati cal principles to the end of their days. Winram, for example, died Superintendent of Strathearn; Willock was Superintendent of the West; Spoteswood, whose installation has just been mentioned, was many years a superintendent, and uniformly hostile to Presbyterian parity; Douglas became Archbishop of St. Andrew's; and Row was one of the three who afterwards defended the lawfulness of diocesan episcopacy at the conference appointed by the General Assembly in the year 1675. Hence it is manifest that the associates of Knox were not Presbyterians, and had no intention of setting up a system of equality among the ministers of their new establishment. If further evidence were wanting to prove this point, reference might be made to a letter, written by Erskine of Dun, to the Regent, dated November, 1571, in which he maintains not only the expediency, but even the divine authority of the episcopal office in the Church of Christ. Erskine, it is well known, was a fellow-labourer with Knox in new modelling the constitution of the kirk, and was himself one of the original su-

perintendents; on which account it may be inferred, that the opinions which he expresses in an official communication to the head of the government, were those entertained by the whole body to which he belonged. Alluding to the authority which St. Paul conferred upon his disciples Timothy and Titus, when he appointed them to the charge of Ephesus and Crete, he remarks—

“Thus have we expressed plainly by scripture that to the office of a bishop pertain examination and admission into spiritual cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted, that they walk uprightly and exercise their office faithfully and purely: to take away this power from the bishop or superintendent, is to take away the office of a bishop, that there be no bishop in the Kirk. There is a spiritual jurisdiction and power which God has given unto his Kirk, and to them who bear office therein; and there is a temporal jurisdiction and power, given of God to kings and civil magistrates. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing to the fortifying one of the other, if they be rightly used. As to the question, if it be expedient that a superintendent be where a qualified bishop is, I understand a bishop and superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is the other is.”

Nay, at a still later period we find among the acts of the General Assembly a petition to the Lord Regent, praying that stipends be granted to superintendents, *in all time coming*, in all counties destitute thereof, whether it be where there is no bishop or where there are bishops who cannot discharge their office. Is it, then, true that in the First Book of Discipline, and earliest form of the Protestant Church in Scotland, there was not even the “phantom of prelacy?” But granting that this assertion were correct, the authority conveyed by it could not be rated very highly; for it is added, that in the first National Assembly there were only eight or nine ministers and thirty ruling elders, so that the lay voters, compared with the clerical, were more than three to one.

These considerations affect deeply the character of Henderson, who endeavoured to convince his partizans not only that episcopacy has no authority in the word of God, but also that it was never acknowledged by the Scottish reformers. Unless he believed that Knox, Erskine and the Superintendent Spotswood proceeded upon a false ground in establishing the basis of their Church, he could not possibly esteem himself an honest man; and if he allowed his conscience to be convinced that they contrived their scheme only for a temporary purpose, he cannot have read the Book of Discipline with a sincere desire to ascertain its true import.

Mr. Aiton tries to find an apology for Henderson's tergiversa-

tion, by alleging the *Arminianism* of the Scottish liturgy, and the *Pelagianism* of Laud's doctrines. But without pressing the fact that the minister of Leuchars was converted in 1516,—more than twenty years before the liturgy appeared, five years before the Perth Articles were ratified, and some years before Laud attained power,—we may take leave to observe, that the doctrine of the Scottish Prayer Book did not differ in any one point from the orthodox principles contained in the English ritual sanctioned by Parliament in 1563. The daily worship is precisely the same; and in the communion service, where the several prayers are somewhat differently arranged, there is no tenet or shade of opinion introduced to which the most scrupulous Protestant could object. On this subject we find, in Mr. Aiton's volume, the most lamentable ignorance. He says, that "in the Assembly at Perth, the Church enjoined kneeling at the sacrament, private communion and private baptism, secret confirmation, and the observance of the festivals kept in the Church of England." What he means by *secret* confirmation, we cannot conjecture, unless he has mistaken it for auricular confession; but we are sure he is wrong in asserting that the Church *enjoined* private baptism and private communion. The object of the Articles on these heads was simply to grant permission to the clergy, in cases where those sacraments could not be administered in public, to perform the duty, when required, in the house where a sick child or a bed-ridden patient was resident. Before that period it was unlawful to christen an infant, though at the point of death, any where but in the presence of the congregation. A similar prohibition applied to the communion of the sick, although weakness of body might have detained the sufferer many years from public worship; and the Church, in the celebrated Assembly held at Perth, provided no further than to put it in the power of a parent to have his child baptized, or of an infirm person to commemorate the Lord's death in the company of his friends under his own roof. The rule as to confirmation was equally optional; it might be omitted or observed, according to the discretion of the individuals principally concerned. Nor was any one, not a clergyman, obliged even to keep the festivals. The churches were indeed open on Christmas-day and Easter; but no person was compelled to fix his thoughts on the birth and resurrection of the Redeemer at particular seasons. It might, perhaps, be deemed a constraint to kneel at the communion, and some might think it more decorous to sit; but even this, the only Article which was not entirely discretionary, was not enforced, and, generally speaking, the people were indulged and allowed to follow their own judgment or inclination. But, we repeat, so far as Henderson's

change of views is considered, such grievances cannot be applied; for they were not in existence when his wounded pride and blasted prospects alienated him from Archbishop Spotswood and his own principles. In point of fact, the Perth Articles and the Arminianism of the Liturgy were a mere pretext to most of the nobles and ministers who adopted "the new line of policy;" for, although the motives of the latter body of men are not in all cases easily comprehended, the former had clear and urgent reasons for pulling down the episcopal Church. Mr. Aiton has truth on his side when he states that

"The Act of Revocation, by which Charles attempted to transfer to the crown the church lands, which had been long in possession of the old court favourites, was the grand foundation stone of all the mischief which followed. As these extensive domains had been procured by a general scramble in the confusion occasioned by the Reformation, or acquired by court intrigue during the regencies in his father's minority, Charles deemed them fair objects of acquisition. But as the attempt was obviously hazardous, he went to work with caution. To make the powerful barons leading cards to the rest, the abbey of Arbroath and the lordship of Glasgow were procured by secret purchase, and conferred on the two archbishoprics. Several other estates, of less value, were managed in a similar way. So long as value was obtained, the nobility, pretending favour to the court, made a show of zeal after a good bargain; but when the Earl of Nithsdale came down, in 1628, to offer merely the king's favour to those who surrendered the church lands, and to wrest them from those who refused, open resistance was in an instant determined upon, and the old cry of popery was raised to serve the purpose of those interested in these grants. At a secret meeting it was settled that, if no other argument should induce Nithsdale to desist, the barons should at once knock out his brains, after the good old Scottish manner. When the parties came to a conference at Edinburgh, the dark scowl of the nobles, patiently waiting for vengeance, terrified the court party so much, that they did not even disclose their instructions, but sent back Nithsdale to London, to declare that the service was desperate. From this time the nobles suspected the king, and began to play underhand the back game against his government. With a view to coalesce with a powerful opposition party, they became avowed champions of Presbytery, and from pecuniary motives in their opposition to the bishops, artfully laid the blame of every misfortune on episcopacy. By thus making religion a mere stalking-horse to their own interests, they verified the general remark, that at the bottom of the purest boilings of patriotism there often lies a thick sediment of gross selfishness."

No one who has read the history of those evil days will call in question the remark with which the foregoing paragraph is concluded. The avarice and ambition of the nobles were provoked at the sight of so much wealth and power entrusted to the hands of the bishops; and in order to remove this ground of complaint,

they resolved to strike at the hierarchy itself. The prelates could still present a claim, founded on law and usage, for the lands torn by violence from their predecessors; the Presbyter had no such pretensions in virtue of any constitution, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and therefore he was the fitter man for the wealthy lords, whose domains had greatly extended their boundaries under the auspices of the Congregation. At this crisis, the reverend Alexander Henderson, actuated indeed by different motives, thought proper to embark in the same cause with the "greedy barons;" and having pledged his troth to them, he scrupled not at any means whereby their common purpose—the humiliation of the Church—might be accomplished.

The day had been fixed for the introduction of the Liturgy as the national form of worship. Before that epoch, we have reason to believe, a variety of prayer books were used in Scotland, among which were the Manual ascribed to Knox, and the Common-Prayer of Edward the Sixth. The Liturgy of our Church also, in its present shape, was read in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood House, and probably in other places; a circumstance which, as it proved that the people had no particular objection to preconceived devotions, afforded a rational ground for hope that they would be gratified by the pious cares of the king, in providing them with a complete and authorized guide for their solemn services. But such an occasion for undermining the ecclesiastical fabric, was too seducing to be allowed to pass unimproved. The ministers accordingly, who were in the secret, repaired to Edinburgh, to make arrangements for the popular explosion, by which it was hoped the government would be intimidated, the prelates shaken from their purpose, and his majesty induced to leave them to their fate. Henderson, with two other clerical deputies, waited on Lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope, to inform them of the object of their journey to town, and the measures they were prepared to adopt. The plan, we are told, was approved by his lordship, and the king's advocate, men whose duty it was to preserve the public peace and protect the royal interests; and a meeting of the conspirators was held in an obscure part of the city.

"There were here convened by the Lord of Lorn, the Earls of Rothes, Cassillis, Glencairn, and Traquair, Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino, and divers others, of whom, says Spalding, the Marquis of Hamilton was one, together with a menzie of discontented puritans, of whom Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, Mr. David Dickson, minister of Irvine, and Mr. Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo, were the ringleaders. At this private meeting the ambitious insolence and avarice of the prelates, their meditated innovations on the Church, besides their endeavours to reduce the nobleman's rights on slight grounds, were all considered. After much deliberation, they concluded

to bring about a reformation shortly; and to that effect they drew in a number of the nobility quietly to their opinion, and waited the time to begin. It is said to have been arranged that the first opposition to the introduction of the Liturgy should be made by the women of inferior ranks of life; and in justification of their conduct, the passage in the Acts of the Apostles is said to have been 'quoted, where it is written, ' that the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women.' Nicolas Balfour, Euphan Henderson, Bethia and Elspa Craig, and many other matrons, were instructed how to give the first affront to the book, and assured that men would afterwards take the business out of their hands. Having thus laid the train, and procured individuals whom the law would not recognize, to apply the match, the actors quietly returned to their respective homes, to abide the explosion."

The motives, the objects, and the plan, are here detailed with clearness and candour, leaving no doubt that the "godly women" were nothing more than simple tools employed by the intriguing ministers and their noble allies.

"It is in vain to assert," continues Mr. Aiton, "that these riots were entirely discountenanced by the leaders of the Presbyterians. During the whole troubles the populace came upon the stage, acted their part, and retired in a way too critical for their unaided capacities. That it was part of the tactics of the Presbyterians to secure the concurrence of the populace, is further evident from the fact, that about this period a petition was given in to the privy council against the Liturgy and Canons, in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants, of Edinburgh."

Having succeeded so well in their first attempts, the nobility, and others of a class considerably above that of the rioters, openly defended the tumult which signalized the 23d of July. The next step in their progress was to obtain or extort his majesty's consent to a meeting of the General Assembly, where the resolutions of the secret committees might be converted into laws, and where all the violences of the multitude might be sanctioned by the united wisdom of the Church. As conditions to his concurrence for the assembling of that seditious convocation, the king was desirous to secure two great principles; namely, that the deputies or representatives should be chosen by the clergy alone; and that they should not alter or overthrow any thing which had been confirmed by Parliament. To these reasonable proposals, the Reformers turned a deaf ear; being aware that the majority of the parish ministers who were still friendly to the episcopal constitution, would not co-operate with mercenary laymen for its ruin, and also, that the Church being established by the authority of Parliament, could not be thrown to the ground without setting at defiance the most solemn deeds of the legislature.

In the meantime it was deemed expedient to make a demonstration of physical force; and with this object in view, a body

of supplicants, amounting to many thousands, were instructed to proceed to the capital, where the treacherous government of Charles were sitting ready to receive the impression which this show of strength was meant to produce. Then followed the erection of the Tables, or standing committees, who undertook to represent the whole Presbyterian interests, and who, in reality, superseded the power of the sovereign, and governed the country at their will. Having assumed such ground, whence they could look down with contempt upon all the efforts which their prince might make to assert his authority, they give utterance, as usual, to the highest tones of loyal affection. "More reverence, more expression of true and religious love to his majesty's person, more promises of hearty prayers from all for his spiritual and temporal good, were never among subjects." The mob retired to their homes till they were again summoned to sign the covenant; and afterwards, at the signal of war, they assembled their bands, "when to a man they buckled on their armour and marched to the battle field."

At this stage of the revolutionary movement, Henderson was the prime instigator. Baillie facetiously remarks, that at the request of Lord Montgomery, he attended as a commissioner at the table of ministers; but they had nothing to do except to give their presence, for in effect, says he, "all was done by the grace and wit of the two *archbishops*, Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. D. Dickson, joined with two or three noblemen."

Mr. Aiton acknowledges that the Tables, or Committees of lords, barons, ministers, and burgesses, "soon became a new representative government in Scotland. They in the end usurped the authority of the whole kingdom, and issued orders which were everywhere obeyed with more promptitude than those of the most despotic sovereigns. Like the piston in the steam-engine, those Tables gave the command of the whole Presbyterian machinery. Through them, by the moving of their hand, a few nobles and the 'two archbishops,' while sitting at Edinburgh, could at once stop or set in motion every wheel, however huge or remote, and send their commands to the inhabitants of the most distant glen, with the rapidity of a sky-rocket."

After the Service Book, the ostensible cause of complaint and tumult, was withdrawn, Henderson suggested that they ought now to complain of the Bishops themselves, as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them. To this measure, it is said, many were at first averse, and argued, that they came to Edinburgh solely with the view of being freed from the obnoxious Liturgy, but that otherwise they had no cause of quarrel with the prelates. The influence, however, of the meek Presbyterian prevailed, and he induced his leaders, as well as his

followers, to frame a remonstrance ; stating "that the bishops had introduced the Book of Canons and Common Prayer, containing divers superstitions, idolatry, and false doctrine ; that their proceedings were contrary to his Majesty's intention ; and were, moreover, subversive of religion and liberty." This step is, perhaps, the least creditable that Henderson ever took ; for he knew well that the bishops, so far from wishing to impose the Liturgy and Canons, contrary to his Majesty's intentions, were urged on by royal injunctions much faster and farther than they had any wish to proceed. But his object, the depression of the hierarchy, was thereby forwarded ; and this great end, in his eyes, seemed to justify the most flagitious means.

Matters being thus matured, the Assembly met at Glasgow, and the main purpose contemplated by the demagogues was, to try the bishops as criminals, and find them guilty. Hamilton, the royal commissioner, who failed not to perceive their object, protested in the name of his master, in his own name, and in that of the lords of the clergy, that no act passed after his departure—and he meant immediately to withdraw—should be held binding on any of his Majesty's subjects. He then, in the name of the king, the head of the Church, dissolved the Assembly, and discharged their farther proceedings. But they, smiling at such empty threats, continued their sittings, till they had demolished the ecclesiastical constitution, voted episcopacy unlawful, and excommunicated several of the prelates.

The next appeal was to arms, when Henderson, who had denounced all civil occupations in clergymen, entered upon a course of life which was spent in political broil and contention. Charles, who respected his learning and talents, endeavoured to gain him so far at least as to secure his neutrality ; but the other received the rents of the chapel royal, formerly esteemed a " morsel for a bishop," without remitting his exertions in behalf of that cause which brought his benefactor to the block.

It is asserted by various writers, that Henderson, at the close of his days, expressed deep regret for the part he had acted, both towards his Sovereign and the Church ; and there is still extant "The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal Minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and Chief Commissioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, on his death-bed." Clarendon has given the authority of his name to this report ; for, after remarking that the king was "too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation (as appears from the papers which passed between them, which were shortly after communicated to the world) that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he himself had been the author of, or too much

contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his majesty." The authenticity of the paper which bears his name, is not free from suspicion; but there seems no reason to doubt that he expressed regret, upon seeing the issue to which matters were fast approaching; lamented that he could no longer restrain the furious zeal of the party whom he had originally incited; and probably, at his last hour, condemned himself for yielding to motives so deeply tinctured with human pride, revenge, and ambition. As to the victory gained over him by Charles, there cannot be the slightest difference of opinion, among men qualified to judge; and, considering the circumstances in which his majesty conducted the dispute, the entire absence of all such helps as even the most learned divines require for refreshing the memory, in facts, dates, and names, and, on the other hand, the presence of objects so apt to disturb reflection and banish mental repose as the bustle of a camp, the constant arrival of important despatches, and even the dread of assassination, the letters do infinite honour to the talents of the king.

Without taking the darkest view of Henderson's character, we may assert; that there are few personages who walked over the troubled stage on which he chose to act, whose doings would afford more ample materials for a bitter satire on human nature—the vindictiveness of wounded pride; the sullied honour which attends the triumph of popular insurrection; the contempt which never fails to overtake him who tries to cover the intrigues of personal or professional ambition with the pretext of religious zeal; and, at length, the humiliating discovery that the object on which he had set his heart could not be attained; that his followers had taken the lead, and were looking back upon him with scorn; and that the laurels which he had planted, were plucked up to deck the brows of his worst enemies. Henderson, there is no doubt, was crushed to the earth by the labour, the responsibility, or the remorse, which he brought upon himself.

We blame not the author for his admiration, though he has not pointed out any thing worthy of being admired; we blame him not for his tone of exultation, though he shouts where there is no victory; and we do not chide his strong predilection for the Presbyterians of the 17th century, though his narrative does them little honour. We can even bear his joke, when he speaks of the necessity of benefices being filled by qualified persons; "that ignorant idiots be not placed in such roomes by them that are yet called bishops, and are not;" simply reminding him, that those who have read with attention a work recently published at Edinburgh, will find reason to suspect that even the purer discipline of Geneva cannot always exclude such candidates for preferment.

ART. X.—*National Education, and the Means of Improving it.*

By the Rev. T. V. Short, B.D., Rector of Bloomsbury. London: Parker. 1835.

THIS is a very brief production; and our notice will be proportionately brief. We should be glad if we could make it proportionately sensible.

If we were desirous to write a dissertation upon the instruction of the higher or lower classes, we should have ample materials at hand, in Dr. Russell's (of Leith) excellent Address on the Advantage of Classical Studies; in Mr. Pillan's late publication, also advocating their utility; in Mr. Whewell's letter on the Study of Mathematics; in the first of a proposed series of letters "*on the Condition, Abuses, and Capabilities of the National Universities;*" and in a compilation of papers, collected from various sources under the general title of "*the Schoolmaster.*" Now, however, we would simply present a plain statement of some few, but momentous, facts, leaving systematic disquisition and abstract speculation, until a future occasion.

1. The first matter in dignity, if not in importance, is the projected establishment of a Metropolitan University. We say university, because such is the appellation assigned; and because we hear of the nomination of Lord Burlington as Chancellor, as well as of sundry other officers. At the same time, it is something strange in England, if not on the continent, to regard a board of examiners as constituting an university; or to think of an university as quite distinct from its several colleges and places of tuition. This Board of Examiners, of which rumour has made Dr. Maltby president, and Dr. Arnold, Mr. Milman, Mr. Airy, Mr. Peacock, and some other persons, known as scholars or mathematicians, as linguists or men of science, component members, is to confer degrees, at first, as we understand, upon candidates who come with certificates of good conduct from either the King's College in London, or the (so called) London University; and, afterwards, upon candidates, similarly recommended as to character, from other schools and seminaries, which shall have asserted and made out their claim to the distinction. The power of conferring degrees will not, however, include degrees in theology: nor will the examinations include examination upon matters of religion. Whether these degrees ought to have precisely the same title with the academical degrees now conferred at Oxford and Cambridge; or whether they ought rather to bear their own stamp, and therefore their own value:—whether, again, it might not be better, that two or more universities, if necessary, should be founded, one or more for churchmen, one or more for dissenters of various grades, so that the education and the reward

should be given within the same institution, and that a portion of religious knowledge should be an essential prerequisite to a *general* university honour and degree: these are questions which may at least admit of doubt and debate.

2. Besides this Metropolitan University, we have heard from good authority, that it is in contemplation to form, upon a plan in many respects similar, an University in Liverpool, probably another at Manchester, and others, perhaps, in other cities or large towns of the empire. In Liverpool and Manchester, at least, there is a desire, we believe, to execute the design upon a very liberal and comprehensive scale; to import professors from France and Germany; and, in fact, to attract from all quarters the men most celebrated in all arts and sciences. These universities are destined, we conceive, to be *cheap* Universities, and *open* Universities; that is, open to every thing, except the peculiar doctrines of a revealed and positive faith.

3. The activity of the movement party in urging forward their favourite scheme of a *state*-education for the people at large is unremitted. In the mean time, however, if they cannot yet prevail upon the legislature to adopt their views in the gross, they can, *en attendant*, go to work in detail; they can till the separate portions of the soil according to their new mode of cultivation, and prepare it for the seed which is to be sown, broad-cast, by a sweeping and universal enactment hereafter. For,

4. The Local Councils in many places, formed upon the new Corporation Bill, are already entertaining the project of employing Corporate property and Corporate influence in the education of the people, according to the most improved *norma*, or pattern, set up by the Utilitarians. At Bath, as the newspapers inform us, a committee has been appointed, investigations are being made, and the whole business, we apprehend, will be conducted under the immediate, though perhaps unseen, auspices of Mr. Roebuck; who is, we dare say, if his purpose can be answered, quite ready to prove, on one day, that the work of education belongs to the state, and, on the next, that it belongs to the magistracy of a borough. At Pontefract, at Liverpool, in Kent, we hear of similar intentions; and, if the system spreads, the consequences will be *most important* at least, whether for good or evil. Who shall say how soon the surplus property arising from bequests, or the funds of grammar schools, and endowed schools, may be appropriated by Town Councils? And who can be so blind as not to see, that many grave inquiries might be opened, both as to expediency and as to right?

It has been said by one, who would stretch quite far enough, perhaps, the power of Municipal Councils:—"The real and

natural objects of corporate government appear to me to be these—the administration of the police force—the control and direction of the police force, whatever it may be, to which the protection of person and property is confided—the administration of corporate property—and the regulation of those other not unimportant matters which concern the health, the comfort, and the convenience of the community—the lighting, the paving, the draining, &c. &c.” Yet this enumeration can hardly be said to include any wide scheme of education, to be carried forward upon principles hitherto unrecognized by the Church or by the State.

Perhaps, too, trusting at the moment to our historical recollections, we should say, that, as far as precedent or analogy goes, the members of Town Councils were to be conservators of external peace and local order, and superintendents of streets and buildings, having authority over brawls and nuisances; but they had nothing to do with the higher and more abstruse departments of political philosophy. It would be strange indeed if functionaries in the inferior offices of administration should start up at once as law-givers and law-makers in the most important points of legislation which can affect an empire. We do not remember that the curators of the walls were chief governors of the city; or that the ædiles meddled with the province and prerogatives of senator, or censor, or consul. But, knowing how much the wisdom of the present age loves to demonstrate itself by a supercilious contempt of the past, and what scorn will be thrown upon the pedantry of appealing, as an argument, to the usages of Athens or Rome, we forbear to lay any stress upon these considerations. Still it may be urged, upon the principles of reason and of the British constitution, that these Municipal Corporations are not entitled by right to interfere, as they seem to have the ambition of interfering; that the same reasons which take matters of religion out of the hands of the Town Councils, should take out of their hands matters of education; for we may be assured that general measures of religion and of education can never be divorced or torn apart.

It may be, however, that these things are left in doubt. The Imperial Parliament may have committed the stupendous blunder of erecting a multitude of local legislatures, and yet assigning no definite limits to their privileges and powers. It would appear, indeed, that the views of our statesmen are as yet quite vague, and their opinions quite unformed, as to the extent and respective boundaries of central and local jurisdiction. We as yet see scarcely the shadow of general, and matured, and comprehensive conceptions. Now, there is a manifest tendency to gather up all authority, even to its executive details, into the grasp of parlia-

mentary commissioners or some central board in the metropolis: now, there is a disposition quite as manifest to split the kingdom, by municipal acts, into a number of petty states, each taking a different character, and forming itself upon a distinct model, as the predominance happens to be with Infidels or Believers, Churchmen or Dissenters, Conservatives or Destructives.

5. The Municipal Corporation Bill is to be extended, if the dominant party in the House of Commons can extend it, with full and unrestricted operation, to Ireland. But if the Irish Town Councils are to arrogate to themselves the same plenary jurisdiction which some of the English would usurp, we, who would look at these discussions, not as factious partizans, but as Church politicians and Christian politicians, must ask, with almost a foreboding shudder, what is likely to be the result to the best interests of religious education? Intimately connected with the question of the Established Church and the Protestant religion in Ireland, is the question of the Municipal Corporations. But here again, and to an especial degree, many a senator must have been fettered in the debate by his own praises of the virtue of Centralization, the greater efficacy and strength of one supreme independent central authority, over a multitude of local and petty tribunals. We are not going to argue the point, or to dogmatize upon it in either way. But thus it is. Men are more fond than ever of calling into life and action some pregnant and gigantic principle, without duly regarding, in a large and profound spirit, its proper mode and extent of application, or its general relations with the whole economy of man, as a political, social, and individual being. They introduce, with almost as much precipitancy as if the science of legislation were a game of hap-hazard, the most potent engine for the immediate purpose of a party: they prate about central government as opposed to local government, or self-government as opposed to government by metropolitan boards and commissions; but when their rash logic—or rather rhetoric—is turned against themselves, they are bewildered and stand aghast; and, in the meantime, the entire philosophy of the question remains unappreciated, unadjusted, and misunderstood.

6. As to the sister-kingdom, the facts stated by the Bishop of Exeter, in his impressive, though dispassionate, speech in the House of Lords, at least afford matter for serious scrutiny and solemn apprehension. Nor do they afford it the less, because Ireland is so strange an anomaly, and presents such a mass of awful, bewildering, and almost insuperable embarrassment, that even in a question of education it stands out by itself, and cannot be placed in the same category with other countries. It becomes us, however, now to view the influence of the existing Board of Education

in connection with the Irish Corporation Bill, if it should pass without modification or curtailments.

7. In the midst of these projects and innovations, the Tax upon Knowledge, as it is called, is to be much diminished; or, in other words, the stamp-duty upon newspapers is to be reduced, from 4*d.* with discount, to 1*d.* without discount. The immediate consequence may be, that the power of that almost omnipotent engine, the daily press, will receive an indefinite augmentation; that new journals, specially addressed to the millions, will be started and multiplied; and that a flood of political literature, cheap, bold, clever, and attractive, but not, we fear, the most sound, or the most wholesome, or the most friendly to religion and the Church, will inundate and deluge the land. Yet we wish, let it be understood, merely to state what we anticipate at the moment, without stopping either to attack or vindicate the theory of the tax; either to acknowledge or deny, that ulterior and progressive good may far more than counterbalance any temporary inconvenience.

8. By way of consolatory circumstances, as a set-off against some of the mischiefs and dangers which have been mentioned, we may specify the improved Education of the Clergy, which the Church-Commissioners suggest as being in view: we may specify the extraordinary care now bestowed upon theological instruction, at our ancient universities, at our public schools, at the King's College, and those proprietary schools in connection with it, which certainly afford an excellent education, both general and classical, to many hundreds of youths, who might otherwise be debarred from it by considerations of expense: we may specify the admirable efforts of the National Society, together with the increased and increasing efficiency in the management of parish schools.

9. Still, when we would strike the general balance, there is a vast preponderance on the side of peril and difficulty. Let us *suppose* the upper classes safe; let us suppose them placed above the influence of that intellectual and moral contagion, which floats in the atmosphere of ignorance or false knowledge: let us *suppose*—and the supposition is even now a violent one—that adequate provision is made for the mental and spiritual wants of the humblest ranks among us:—still there remains the mighty chasm between—no, not chasm—but the mighty space filled up by a teeming population of busy myriads. *With* these myriads, and *for* these myriads, something must be done.

10. We must look also to *age* as well as *station*. The infant school may teach the infant; the parish school may teach the boy and the girl: excellent persons among both the clergy and

the laity, may even be at cost and at pains in instituting and conducting schools for adults; but these exertions upon the mass of the people may be comparatively unavailing; and youthful impressions will wear away, more especially if the population is suffered, still more and more, to outgrow the means of accommodation in places of worship belonging to the Established Church; and the *men* of England will be gradually withdrawn from habits of loyalty and piety; if almost all they hear, and almost all they read, goes to unteach and not confirm the lessons which they have imbibed in childhood, to alienate them from that civil and ecclesiastical constitution which was cherished by their forefathers.

11. We must look again to *sex* as well as age, If there are no schools—and we apprehend that there are few or none—which communicate a really good education to the lower division of the middle class, is the father of the family, or—what is even more important—the mother of the family likely to supply the deficiency? Is she likely to impart at home that sound and solid instruction in religion which may compensate the imperfections, or remedy the mistakes, of the tuition at school? In other words, how has that mother herself been instructed? or what is the character of female education in this class of life? We fear, that, as to the weightier points of religious and moral training, it is still lamentably flimsy and superficial. We fear, that there are causes, operating in this class of life, which, as they lead the men to a love of political and religious insubordination, bias the female mind towards enthusiasm and dissent.

12. If, then, we would survey the whole matter with a steady and unflinching gaze, we shall find it to stand thus. That class, which is nearly the most numerous, and quite the most influential in the community, is, in its religious and moral education, the most neglected. We say, nearly the most numerous, because we include a considerable proportion of agriculturists in the country, as also the great mass of tradesmen and shopkeepers in towns—from the 10*l.* to the 30*l.* or 40*l.*, perhaps the 50*l.* or 60*l.* householders. We say, quite the most influential, because the whole genius of modern legislation is to lodge in this class all real and actual power. From this class, or the class immediately above it, and immediately connected with it, the members of the town councils will generally be chosen. In this class, the Dissenters, and most particularly the Wesleyan Methodists, have their strongest hold. Thus the Dissenters will have a very large share in nominating the town councils; and the town councils will have a disposition to forward the objects of the Dissenters; and thus the entire system will have an evident tendency to

strengthen and perpetuate itself. In a word, there are many who think that the worst symptom of the times, the very canker in the frame of the state, is the radical spirit of the towns. We may well add, that the surest,—we do not say, the 'shortest'—but the *surest* way to subvert the institutions of a country, is to revolutionize its education. Now, we must put these two elements together. Here is the radical spirit of the towns invested with power, and prepared to use that power in building up a new structure of education upon a revolutionary basis. And the impression will be chiefly made upon that order of the community, which we, as Churchmen, have been most ready to abandon, and which seceding anti-Churchmen and irreligious anti-Churchmen will do most to gain. For let us be assured, that many town-councils, and the politicians, who set their springs in motion, while they will be glad to estrange the lowest classes from the Church, aspire to carry their projects of instruction many steps higher than the level of those humble pupils, who are now taught in our national and parochial schools. Let us likewise be assured, that this system, if matured and not counteracted, will strike much deeper into our social fabric, than a thousand measures of general politics, about which senators make declamations, and pamphlets are written in shoals.

13. But already, months and even years ago, on more than one or two occasions, we have insisted upon the necessity of making strenuous efforts, as Christians and as Churchmen, for the education and subsequent instruction of the less opulent division of the middle ranks. Instead, therefore, of repeating our own opinions, *usque ad nauseam*, we rejoice to avail ourselves of the authority of Mr. Short, fully concurring in the general tenor of the extract which we subjoin, though not, perhaps, in every single observation.

“ In regarding the education of England, in a general point of view, it cannot be doubted that much improvement has taken place during the last thirty years. The Universities have greatly advanced as places of education; many alterations for the better have been introduced into our public schools; and, on the whole, the upper orders are more soundly instructed than they used to be. At the same time, a more than corresponding change has taken place among the working classes; large and cheap schools have been formed on wise principles; and those among the lower orders, who are still blind enough to send their children to private day-schools, feel the reflected influence of the spread of information in the improvement of even this species of seminary. The middle orders alone seem not to have benefited by the progress in which those above and below them have participated; and while the energies of educated men have been freely applied to amend what is amiss among the poor, the children of the superior mechanic and of the

little tradesman have derived no corresponding advantage. If this state of things continues, the members of this class of society must necessarily be in danger of changing places with the mere labourer—an alteration by no means to be desired. While, at the same time, it is not an easy task to interfere with that which must be left to the choice of those who are most interested in its being carried on well.

“The only apparent method by which this object could be fairly obtained, would probably be, if a class of schools were established in London and other large towns, which should be carried on upon the system of mutual instruction, but in which much higher branches of education might be introduced. The middle orders, for whose benefit they were intended, would soon discover the real advantage which they might derive from such establishments; and the general education destined to supply their wants, would be exalted by the competition necessarily raised through such improved places of instruction. In such an undertaking, some species of scientific reading might be added to superior attainments in writing and arithmetic,—and a taste for English literature might be cultivated. The elements of the fine arts might also be taught; and whatever is useful or ornamental in education might gradually be blended with that which is most valuable. Science, literature, and the fine arts, might be partially acquired, while sound moral government and sober Christianity were made the basis of that which is to exalt human nature above the lot of mere animal existence. If such an establishment were well carried on, it would lay the surest ground-work for the diffusion of real religion among that class of society which is daily becoming more influential.

“The persons for the use of whose children such a school would be most beneficial, are those who, by their own exertions, are placed in comparative affluence, and who, feeling the want of education in themselves, and rightly estimating its value, would be willing to contribute materially towards the support of the undertaking. It can hardly be doubted, that a large number of scholars might be procured at such a school, who would willingly pay at the rate of one shilling a-week. Of course many expenses must be incurred before such an undertaking could be brought into operation; but when it was once founded, and the expenditure of the buildings had been defrayed, it ought to support itself.

“Boys of talent, who had distinguished themselves at any previous schools, might occasionally find friends who would furnish them with the means of finishing their education at such a seminary; and the cause of general education would probably be thus most effectually promoted, by spreading through the kingdom a race of well-educated men.

“The particular subjects on which instruction might be given in such a place, must depend on many circumstances, and be adapted to the wants of those who were admitted among the scholars. Such a course of education should always embrace instruction in religion; history, particularly English history; English literature; geography, physical and statistical, for the sake of those who were to be engaged in engineering and trade; drawing; and, in mining and manufacturing districts, mechanics, and geology.

“Independently of the benefit to be reaped by those classes for whose immediate use it was intended, it might be hoped, that much contingent advantage would flow from its adoption. It might form a higher standard school, towards which, those destined for the use of the lower orders, might constantly be tending. It might form a seminary, from which, ultimately, many good schoolmasters might be derived; and, as the pay of such an establishment would generally exceed that of the masters’ on the National or British system, masters of talent might be continually preparing and improving themselves, in the hopes of obtaining a station of more dignity, as well as of greater emolument. As this experiment could not be made, even in a single case, without considerable expense, it could not be attempted, unless with the support of persons of wealth and influence.

“In looking at the practical results at which we have arrived from the previous discussion, it is obvious that they would lead us rather to promote and advance what is already established, than to recommend any new attempts, certainly not any great or decided alterations.

“The government will do well to continue, or, perhaps, enlarge, the grant of money which has been made during the last two years, for the purpose of assisting in building schools. Probably, some of the increased grant might, with advantage, be specially applied to defray the whole expense of erecting schools in poor and populous neighbourhoods, in London, or in manufacturing towns. A dense population, without any means of religious education, must exhibit to the patriot the appearance of a dangerous and alarming ulcer in the body politic. The Christian cannot help regarding it as a grievous sin, in this wealthy and enlightened country: but such cases, thank God, are not so very numerous, but that the government might easily step in, and offer to those who are most affected by the particular evil, the means of establishing the remedy, provided there were a hope of their being able to carry on the school when the commencement had been made; perhaps an additional annual grant of 5,000*l.*, for a few years, might answer the most urgent demands of this nature; and if such a sum were not adequate, it would only more strongly prove the urgency of the want.”—pp. 32—37.

It is one happy characteristic of Mr. Short, that he writes in a *hopeful* spirit. And we would say, with all deference to some, who are almost ready to despond, that the discouraging circumstances which surround us, instead of damping our zeal, or causing us to relax our exertions, should rather urge us to multiply and increase them. Must we quit the field at once, because opponents are prepared to enter it? Let us rather hold the Christian advantage which prior occupation always gives. We affirm, with as much sincerity and earnestness as the hottest projectors of the day, that a good and competent education must be communicated to the entire population. We affirm, that the work must be done—but not by them, nor after their fashion. / We must do it ourselves.

14. Yet there are certainly some matters in which, for our own

individual parts, we should be glad to join even with dissenting and radical Town Councils. One of these is the plan of securing public walks and open spaces for recreation in densely-peopled towns. The physical and intellectual and moral evils accruing to the hundreds of thousands "in populous cities pent," from the want of all unbought and simple pleasures, of healthy exercise for the body, and wholesome refreshment to the mind; from the absence of the cheerful sight and the sweet influences of nature; and from the consequent need of artificial dissipations and excitements, we do believe to be incalculable. We can never wonder at profligacy and disaffection, turbulence and discontent, amidst the smoke and the noise, the "*fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ*;" the clashing din of half-stifled myriads, where God's work is shut out by man's; where there is every thing to breathe of this world, and almost nothing to remind us of our Creator. Would that every populous town could be circled round by a green girdle of parks or fields, sacred from brick and mortar!

15. But these notions, which we hold to be philosophy, many will deem fantasies. We, therefore return to Mr. Short, and cite with pleasure the conclusion of his pamphlet.

"It is absolutely necessary that National Education should keep pace with the alterations which are arising in society. Individuals, according to their political opinions, may differ as to the quantity of power which should be granted to the several orders in the state; but no one can doubt that, if power has been entrusted to any description of persons, the experiment can only be safe when those persons shall receive an adequate education.

"Let us never forget that it is not mere knowledge, but Christianity, which can give permanent security to any country; and if that system of education which endeavours to impart sound principles, fail to attract the notice, and obtain the confidence, of those orders, among the people which it is destined to educate; if, from neglecting to extend the bounds of the knowledge which it communicates, or from any other reason, it does not satisfy the wishes of those who are anxious to diffuse general information among all orders, there will probably arise a danger that the people will overlook the religious instruction which they might have obtained, and seek extended information from quarters where the more important points are neglected.

"In this world of activity and exertion, nothing can stand still. That which is not advancing will soon find that it has fallen into the rear. General education is becoming, day by day, an object of more engrossing interest. The Christian patriot will thank God for this circumstance; and having used his utmost endeavours, that sound religious principles, and enlightened instruction, may advance hand in hand, he will humbly pray for God's blessing on his exertions, and trust the event to that Power, which, while it has directed human beings to employ the means, can alone grant the success."—pp. 39, 40.

With all respect, then, be it said, that the members of the Church of England, and more especially the more exalted and influential members, must now, having first scanned the actual position of the empire, adapt themselves and their efforts to the new circumstances which have arisen; they must enter upon a bolder and more vigorous policy than they have hitherto pursued; they must act upon a larger and broader scale of operations; they must assume, we are unwilling to say a more aggressive, but a more active, and energetic, and conspicuous part. It is strange that we must tell Christians not to be too tranquil and too unostentatious, as if troublesomeness and ostentation could ever become virtues: but, in deed and in truth, they must “let their light shine;” or it may be extinguished. We are far from meaning that they should signalize themselves amidst the violence of controversy, and the strife of factions; but they must be *seen* to be foremost in all sacred enterprizes; and what they do in the cause of spiritual instruction, of religious and useful education, of moral knowledge and enlightenment, of general amelioration and philanthropy, they must have the *credit* of doing. From principle, rather than from indolence, they have been fond of remaining in the back ground. The times demand that they should step into the front. They must be prominent. They must take the lead. Otherwise, amidst the countless projects of the day, and the restless officiousness of busy men, their merits may be unregarded, their influence may die away, their very existence may be left out of the account. They must bestir themselves; proceeding, however, by matured and well-digested schemes; not by rash measures, which may help to dismember instead of strengthening the Church, and where the remedy would be almost as grievous as the distemper. They must bestir themselves chiefly in two ways,—

1st. By providing a directly religious instruction for the entire people, through the regular ministration of the Clergy in the parish or district, and in the consecrated place of worship, with an instrumentality commensurate with the exigencies of the land.

2ndly. By labouring that there may be a good solid education, founded upon religion, and not disconnected from the Church, for all who need it; but especially for the less wealthy members of the middle order, both male and female:—thus helping to do for *la petite bourgeoisie* what has already been done for themselves by *la bourgeoisie supérieure*.

These plans, separately so essential, have yet an intimate affinity: they will produce a tenfold benefit, if undertaken in conjunction; and, in fact, we can hardly hope that the due results will be attained, if there be only one without the other.

- ART. XI.—1. *Pamphlets in Defence of the Oxford Usage of Subscription to the 39 Articles at Matriculation.* London and Oxford. 1835.
2. *Foundation of the Faith assailed in Oxford.* London. 1835.
3. *Elucidations of Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements.* Oxford. 1836.
4. *Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements, and the 39 Articles, compared.* Oxford. 1836.

THE above pamphlets are interesting at the present moment, as including all that has hitherto appeared to explain the repugnance which the University of Oxford has shown to receive Dr. Hampden as Regius Professor in Divinity. Of these, the two last contain the most explicit and detailed charges against that gentleman. Others, contained in the volume of pamphlets published in the last year, while entering more or less fully into the question of Dr. Hampden's heterodoxy, seem principally to aim at awakening men to the importance of protest and resistance, by connecting Dr. Hampden with other writers and events of this and past times, and showing that his system is no mere fancy of an individual, which may, in prudence, and should, in charity, be allowed to burn itself out quietly; but as one, and, perhaps, in the Church the most prominent, instance of a spirit, the tendencies of which are towards heresy on the highest points of our belief; a spirit which is prevalent in the world, and does not want able representatives within the Church;—which is not merely speculative, but is moving forwards by acts subversive (as the writers maintain) in the first instance, of the authority of the Church, and through it, of the Christian faith—which has shown itself in other ages, and against which it has, as often, been the especial duty of the Church, and, in particular, of the University, to use the utmost vigour and watchfulness.

The “Elucidations” profess solely to answer the main question, *what* Dr. Hampden's opinions are. They consist almost entirely of quotations from his works, arranged under different heads, and prefaced in each instance by a few remarks from the author to show the drift of his quotations. The second pamphlet, “Dr. Hampden's Statements compared with the 39 Articles,” a far more able and complete work, besides fulfilling its title, contains a preface in explanation of his views, and of the terms by which he conveys them, and a series of propositions drawn up from his writings under a variety of doctrinal heads.

From each of these publications it may be as well to make one or two extracts, not with a view of condemning Dr. Hampden, concerning whom we have recorded our judgment in our previous

numbers, but of illustrating, by the *primâ facie* appearance of his statements, the feelings of those who are now opposing him, and of accounting for the alarm and distress which have been so widely expressed on the news of his appointment.

The one great assumption on which Dr. Hampden founds his system, and which he applies successively to the various great doctrines held by the Church, is set forth with an instance of the reasoning by which he justifies it, in the following extract :—

“Strictly to speak, in the Scripture itself there are no doctrines. What we read there is matter of fact : either fact nakedly set forth as it occurred, or fact explained and elucidated by the light of inspiration cast upon it. . . . If any part of Scripture contains doctrinal statements, it will at any rate be supposed to be the Epistolary. But even this part, if accurately considered, will not be found an exception. . . . Let the inveterate idea, that the Epistles are the doctrinal portion of Scripture, be for awhile banished from the mind. . . . For my part, I cannot doubt but that the decision will be in favour of the *practical* character of them. The speculative theologian will, perhaps, answer, by adducing text after text, in which he will contend that some dogmatic truth . . . is asserted. But ‘what is the chaff to the wheat?’ I appeal from the logical criticism of the Apostles’ words to their apostolical spirit, from Paul philosophizing to Paul preaching, and entreating, and persuading.”—*Elucidations*, p. 7 ; *B. Lect.* 374.

He thus speaks of the orthodox doctrine of our Lord’s divine nature :—

“The confusion of principles of different sciences in these promiscuous enquiries is sufficiently apparent. But it was by such a philosophy that the orthodox language was settled, declaring the Son begotten, before all worlds, of *one substance* (sic) with the Father.” *El.* p. 20 ; *B. L.* p. 137.

“I propose to him [the Unitarian] to consider whether it is not *theological dogmatism*, and not *religious belief*, properly so called, which constitutes the principle of his dissent.”—*El.* p. 21 ; *Obs.* p. 19.

And thus of the Atonement :—

“Thus Christ is emphatically said to be our Atonement : not that we may attribute to God any change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done, but that *we may know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our own hearts may not condemn us.”—*El.* p. 25 ; *B. L.* p. 251.

Again, of the Creeds :—

“The Apostles’ Creed states nothing but facts. The transition is immense from this to the scholastic speculations involved in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds.”—*El.* p. 9 ; *B. L.* p. 544.

The author of the Preface to the “Statements” affords us the following, out of a number of propositions drawn from his works :—

" 1. Religion lifts up the feelings, but does not give them solidity ; it needs philosophy as a counterpoise.—*M. Ph.* p. 102.

" 2. The opinion of the dependence of moral theory on religious truth is, in fact, a remnant of the philosophy of the middle ages. Moral science . . . was absorbed in the vortex of theology.—*M. Ph.* p. 23.

" 3. The maxim, that the business of man is the imitation of God, is from Plato ; and is the commencement of the confusion of morals and theology.—*B. L.* p. 271.

" 4. Religion sums up all its practical energy in the one quality of Resignation ; Moral Philosophy provides for the duties belonging to the heirs of flesh and blood.—*M. Ph.* p. 103.

" 5. Religion is among the means which Moral Philosophy employs to improve the power of man.—*M. Ph.* p. 95.

" 6. The *religious principle* is not to be substituted for morality as the spring of action.

" 7. The idea of God, as the source of our moral powers, cannot be taken into account in the *science* of morals, without sacrificing its independence."—*M. Ph.* p. 76, 77.

Now whether these few passages are fairly or unfairly extracted is nothing to the present purpose. They are here produced to make persons feel, first, what is the kind of scepticism with which Dr. Hampden is charged ; and, secondly, that the *primâ facie* evidence for the truth of the charge is such, that persons, possessed of influence and interested in the maintenance of Christian truth, may not dismiss it without examination. For such persons the making up their minds on the evidence, scanty at best, which can be afforded by opponents, would be as useless an act as not making it up at all. Leaving, then, the question of Dr. Hampden's orthodoxy or heterodoxy, not indeed as a light matter, but as beside our present purpose, we will proceed to a short account of the present proceedings at Oxford, considered merely as a matter of fact.

The first and obvious objection made against Dr. Hampden's present opponents, is their long supineness after those publications which they now are so loud in denouncing. Not only, it is urged, have Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, preached and published with the sanction of the University, remained with that sanction upon them for four years, but during that time the University, with the objectionable passages in her hands, has, through her authorities, confirmed it afresh by appointing Dr. Hampden to two distinct situations of trust, the Headship of St. Mary Hall and the Professorship of Moral Philosophy, and all this without a murmur of protest or disapproval. Now, however, when a Prime Minister follows up these University acts by placing Dr. Hampden in the Chair of Divinity, the appointment is stigmatized as subversive of the Christian faith, and the most extreme measures

are threatened in opposition to it. Surely, it is argued, either the present opposition is factious, or the aforesaid four years of more than acquiescence imply a most inexcusable desertion of duty. And it cannot, in candour, be denied that one of these alternatives the University of Oxford must, in a measure, adopt. *Which*, however, of the two, remains to be determined from the faithful examination of Dr. Hampden's writings. If, after such review, the opposition appears unfounded, there is of course no more to be said; but if, on the other hand, it appears that there *is* a cause, one practical lesson is taught us from the charge in which the University is entangled, that in such grave matters forbearance cannot be practised with impunity. More than this it will be difficult to conclude from the objection under consideration; unless indeed past carelessness in any matter obliges one to a deliberate neglect for the future. This is the utmost conclusion we arrive at to the prejudice of Oxford, *supposing* Dr. Hampden's writings do afford ground for animadversion. This, if proved, will be a fact unaffected by the past, and legitimately influencing the future conduct of the University.

However, it may be as well to show the full extent to which the charge of indolence does lie against its members. The Bampton Lectures, containing the first full statement of Dr. Hampden's views, were preached in 1832, and not printed till the following year. Now if any one will really consider the respite which the University had long enjoyed from any painful discussion, and the quiet improvement which, it may be said without boasting, was going on, he will easily understand the reluctance which was felt to exchange peaceful instruction for earnest and probably harsh controversy, or the unreadiness to believe that any thing very wrong could come from those who spoke from a place of authority. Dr. Hampden's hearers had naturally got into a habit of investing the Bampton Lecturer with a prescriptive orthodoxy; and their incaution arose in a measure from innocence and trust. Add to this the acknowledged difficulty of entering into Dr. Hampden's meaning, which diminished the number of his readers, disguised the character of his tenets from some, and enabled others, who much disliked their tone, yet to hope that they had but misapprehended him when he seemed to speak most objectionably. Add again, the impossibility, in times such as these, of any hearers remaining wholly uninfluenced by the spirit of the age, now so little sensitive on doctrinal error; or of preserving their ears at least from familiarity with the words, though their minds might be ever so pure, from the theories of modern rationalism. All these considerations certainly tend to explain the fact that, of the not very large number who heard or read Dr. Hampden's Lectures, most should have

overlooked or undervalued their evil tendencies; and therefore that the few remaining, (none, it may be, peculiarly called on to protest,) should have indulged themselves in the hope that no harm would come, and that it would be unnecessary for them to interrupt their own avocations and the peace of the place by a formal accusation of Dr. Hampden or a necessarily very serious controversy. This dream ought perhaps to have been dispelled by the nomination of Dr. Hampden to the Headship of St. Mary's Hall in 1833, and to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy the year after, and probably would have been so, if it had lain with Convocation to exercise any kind of influence in either appointment. Those members of Convocation, who felt more than suspicious of his writings, would then have been called on to examine and pronounce more decidedly upon them; Lord Grenville, however, as the Chancellor had the sole appointment to the first, and the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, and one or two Heads of Houses to the second. Now a gratuitous interference to protest on theological grounds against an appointment to a Headship or a Chair not connected with Divinity, made by the authorities of the place, was a measure which the members of Convocation ought perhaps, after all, to have adopted; but it is not unnatural they should only murmur in secret and not act. However, an event happened in the autumn of 1834, which directed attention more directly on Dr. Hampden's opinions. In consequence of the protestations made by the bulk of the University in the early part of the year against the forcible intrusion of Dissenters among them, Dr. Hampden published a pamphlet in their favour, called "*Observations on Dissent*," with the merits of which our readers have been long since acquainted. In it the statements of his Bampton Lectures were made intelligible; and a sensation at once followed this naked and practical avowal of them. A controversy ensued, though it was almost one-sided, no one venturing absolutely to undertake Dr. Hampden's defence. Even the writer who appeared most in connection with him on this question, avowed that he considered "some" of his opinions concerning "*Tests, Creeds and Articles*, dangerous and unsound."* Other writers, it need hardly be said, pronounced more unqualified sentences, some of them with an earnestness which, though at the time offensive to many temperate persons, yet seems to have had its effect in awakening University men to their position, and convincing even those who still waited to make up their minds that the question was not a trifling one.

In order to show the feeling existing on the subject many

* Questions respectfully addressed, &c. p. 27.

months before the present unhappy disturbance, we quote a passage from the pamphlet entitled "Foundations of the Faith."

"Surely this pamphlet alone [Dr. Hampden's] considered in connexion with all the circumstances of the case, sufficiently warrants my assertion, that the foundation of the faith is at present assailed in Oxford. I do not indeed accuse Dr. Hampden or his supporters of any unequivocal assertion of doctrines directly Socinian; but if we refer to history we shall find that, I fear, in many respects, he goes far beyond the errors of Socinus and Crellius. These heretics, at least, believed something definite and positive; but he appears to object to all statements of doctrines of whatever kind, if they be regarded as expressing any thing of intrinsic truth; and by representing the points of difference as trifling, he certainly paves the way for others to formal Socinianism, however he may himself escape it."—pp. 14, 15.

Even this passage is quite sufficient to show, that the present opposition to Dr. Hampden is not got up on the moment merely from political motives. So the question stood, when he was appointed Regius Professor. Every one was at length compelled to make up his mind and act; and certainly the more Dr. Hampden's opinions have been examined, the stronger and more general hitherto has the feeling become of their destructive tendency, and of the duty of defending his future scholars from them, and disavowing them on the part of the university. We state this as a matter of fact, whatever be the conclusion deducible from it: this feeling gave rise to the following proceedings. The first step to be taken was tolerably clear; at once, upon the report of his appointment, to petition the king either as a body, or, if that could not be done, as individuals, not to confirm it. When the first of these proposals was negatived in the board of heads of houses, (it is said by Dr. Hampden's casting vote,) a petition was agreed on by the residents of the university as individuals. We give it as it appeared in the papers.

"We, the undersigned, beg to approach your Majesty with every sentiment of loyal and devoted affection, and to acknowledge with thankfulness the benefit which we have derived from the appointments made by your Majesty's predecessors, to the important office of your Majesty's professor of divinity in this university.

"We would anxiously disclaim all wish to interfere with the exercise of this prerogative, which has been of so great benefit to our ancestors and recently to ourselves. We would, however, humbly submit that those who, as has been reported to us, have recommended to your Majesty Dr. Hampden, Principal of St. Mary Hall, for this important office, cannot be sufficiently acquainted with the theological character of the individual whom they have recommended.

"We regret to say, that from the statements of his opinions put forth in his published works, we should apprehend the most disastrous

consequences to the soundness of the faith of those whom he would have to educate for the sacred ministry of the Church, and to the Church itself.

"We beg also to submit to your Majesty, that it is very essential to the discharge of the duties of the regius professor of divinity, that he should possess the full confidence of the several persons engaged or interested in the education of young men in this place, which confidence we unhappily cannot repose in Dr. Hampden.

"We would humbly implore your Majesty to be pleased graciously to listen to such representations as may be laid before you by the spiritual heads of our Church, some of whom have themselves discharged the office of regius professor of divinity. We shall rely most confidently upon your Majesty's known attachment to the Church and to the interests of religion, that your Majesty will appoint a fit person for this weighty office, and we shall await cheerfully your Majesty's decision in a matter which so deeply concerns the spiritual and eternal interests of so many of your Majesty's subjects."

This petition received 71 signatures, 40 being those of persons engaged in tuition, and was transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the request that he would present it to the King. In spite of this attempt, however, it was understood that the appointment would be persevered in; and then it remained for the University to do what could be done of its own proper authority, to counteract its evils. Two things seemed desirable: first, to preserve pure the Religious Education of the place, particularly that of the future clergy; next, to oppose the authority of the University to those particular dangerous opinions, which (it must be confessed) had hitherto, from the mode of their publication, had its tacit recommendation. The first was to be accomplished by transferring the education to other hands; the second, by formally condemning the obnoxious tenets. The latter of these, though recommended equally with the former by the resident masters, has not yet been attempted by the University itself, and certainly gives rise to difficult questions which take some time to solve. It is objected against any authoritative condemnation of the obnoxious works, that such an act might lead to serious consequences as regarded the temporalities of Dr. Hampden's situation; and that it is very undesirable to mix up questions of orthodoxy with questions of income. And further, the University has not exerted its judicial power for many years, and cannot now revive it without interfering with existing usages and establishments. Certainly the Church and University are not what they were; the prerogatives of religion are obsolete; and the functions it once exercised are portioned among other powers of the state. It may be argued that, as, in other things, it has abandoned its claims, so in this too it cannot revive them without hazarding a commotion through the country; that the less its *de facto* powers,

the less it should still demand; that its safety in times like these, when the spirit of the age is against it, is to venture on still less than what that spirit permits; that it once taxed its clergy, who are now reduced to the ranks of the laity; it once directed missions, which have now been taken up by laymen and dissenters; it once had power over its own dignities, which are now in the power of aliens or enemies; it once had the care of the poor, which now are transferred to a board of civil commissioners; it once was censor morum, but has been now succeeded by the *Times*, *Record*, and other newspapers. In short, the Establishment is in good measure dead, and its life so far has passed into worms and creeping things. To revive then what once was, is but to act on a dangerous theory; and even to advocate it, is to place all that is dear to us, our possessions and our privileges, on the brink of a precipice. Lastly, it has been said that the object of an authoritative censure on Dr. Hampden would be indirectly, and therefore sufficiently, obtained by the former of measures specified, a restraint upon his teaching. There is great force in all this reasoning, and we should not be surprised if it prevailed with the University. Nor will we interfere to detail the arguments used on the other side, except to say thus much, that the object of a *direct* censure on Dr. Hampden's works is something which no indirect censure will reach,—viz. the guarding the religious public generally against specific false statements of doctrine which occur in the publications in question, and which are, or are likely to be, very popular at this time. There is a remarkable and undesigned coincidence in important points between Dr. Hampden's and Mr. Jacob Abbott's opinions; and considering how extensively mischievous the latter are, there is a peculiar fitness in seizing the first instance of their being advocated from a place of authority to protest against them. Or rather it should be considered as the first formal introduction into this country of a school, whether of philosophy or heresy (as it will variously be viewed), which has effected in Germany almost an entire revolution of the peculiar religious system settled at the Reformation. This serious view of the matter is taken by the Committee of Members of Convocation in the Report of March 5, which runs as follows:

“After a most careful and systematic research,” they say, “they intreat you to bear in mind, that the present controversy is not so much concerned with an individual or a book, or even an ordinary system of false doctrine, as with a *principle*; which (after corrupting all soundness of Christianity in other countries) has at length appeared among us, and *for the first time been invested with authority within the University of Oxford*. Far as they are from imputing to its maintainer personally those unchristian doctrines, with which it is closely connected, or

the consequences inevitably flowing from it, they cannot forget, that the poison of unbelief (now working so deeply in another country) was first disseminated by a man piously educated (Semler), and who lived to deplore most deeply the effects of his successful rashness."

Another material consideration in behalf of a formal judgment is this—that, *till then*, the continued and combined attack of individuals upon Dr. Hampden seems like *persecution*, and will certainly be so accounted by a number of persons. And this feeling, if it grow, may in time cause a reaction (whether in itself right or wrong) in his favour, to which the English character is especially liable, from its very generosity and sense of justice. These, and the like arguments are in circulation. Meanwhile, dismissing the question, we will but observe, that it is considered two ways lie open to the University, should it wish to condemn Dr. Hampden's works; according as it might choose to proceed, by statute or by precedent. If by statute, the Vice-Chancellor will appoint six Doctors, with whom he will formally examine and pronounce upon the works; and a condemnation would issue in Dr. Hampden's being suspended from the office of preaching. If by precedent, the matter will be brought before Convocation, in which all members of the University have votes who have taken their M. A. degree. And so strong is the feeling of the bulk of the University upon the subject, there is no doubt, that, were the matter brought before Convocation, Dr. Hampden would fare no better than those who have advanced novelties of doctrine in former times.

It remains, in a few words, to state what has actually been done in this distressing business. A Convocation was holden on the 22d of last month, in order to secure, as far as might be, the former of the two objects abovementioned, viz. to guard against the injuries which it was feared that a professor of Dr. Hampden's opinions would inflict on the candidates for holy orders. The first idea had been to address a letter from the University to the Archbishops and Bishops, begging them to allow certificates of attendance on the Margaret Professor's lectures to stand as one of the necessary papers for ordination, in place of the usual attendance on those of the Regius Professor; but, on mature consideration, it was abandoned. Instead of it, it was proposed to pass a statute, suspending the professor from his office of choosing University preachers, and of judging of sermons alleged to be heretical; an infliction, slight in itself, but all-important as implying the deliberate judgment of the University on the matter in dispute. Such it was understood to be by persons high in the state; and if we may trust common rumour, the influence of government was freely promised in favour of its professor. On the

other hand, the resident members of the University were not idle. They put forward a declaration signed by between seventy and eighty names, and sent it about the country as a sort of rallying standard to all who cared for the ancient religion. We only allow ourselves to quote the last words :—

“ Having refrained from any public expression of our opinions upon the nature and tendency of Dr. Hampden’s publications, till the last moment that forbearance was compatible with our duty to the Church and the University, we now solemnly protest against principles, which impugn and injure the Word of God as a revealed rule of faith and practice, in its sense and use, its power and perfection, and which destroy the authority of the Church as a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ.

“ And we hereby declare our steadfast resolution to oppose, under the blessing of Almighty God, the spread of that false philosophy to which those principles may be traced; a philosophy, which in other countries has poisoned the very fountains of religious truth, which for a long time reduced Protestantism, in its original seat, almost to an empty name, and changed the religion of the Cross into the theology of Deism.”

Thus matters stood, when, a day or two before the expected Convocation, the Proctors announced their intention of exercising their extraordinary prerogative of putting a veto on the proposed measure. What the occasions may be which justify such an exertion of power, it is difficult to determine: but that they are rare and critical, we are justified in pronouncing on no less an authority than the present dispassionate Bishop of Llandaff. Many years since he was accused of inconsistency in not putting his veto, when Proctor, on the University anti-catholic petition, he being personally opposed to it; he replied as follows—

“ It would have been indecent and arrogant in the extreme, and an unprincipled perversion of power lodged in our hands for very different purposes. . . . For the Proctors to say of themselves to the whole University assembled in Convocation, ‘ You shall not address, or you shall not petition,’ appears to me deserving of every epithet I have used, and of still stronger epithets, if stronger can be found.”

What made the exercise of this extraordinary prerogative still more remarkable was, that they did not signify their determination to use it, till so late a date that it was impossible, in many instances, to recall the notices summoning the non-residents to Oxford. In consequence between 200 and 300 made their appearance, some from as far as Yorkshire, to no purpose; except to pledge themselves, that, both in Oxford and in their respective neighbourhoods, they would exert themselves to the utmost in their sacred career. And thus the matter rests at present.

ART. XII.—1. *Quarterly Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 67, *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*.

2. *Rejected Passages from Melmoth's "Great Importance of a Christian Life Considered:" intended as a Companion to the Christian Knowledge Society's New Edition, and as a Manual of Reference for its Members.* London. 1836. pp. 12.

It is not without a long pause of deliberation and uncertainty that we have resolved to make a few observations upon the actual state of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The inconveniences incident to this course have not escaped us. If all parties would be silent, we should say at once, that silence was better. But if one party *will* speak, the other *must*; and if that party is to speak at all, it is well to speak before the public ear is poisoned,—before the minds of clergy and laity are so filled with *ex parte* statements, as to become closed against the admittance of truth. If the case is urged perpetually on the one side with energy and perseverance; if attacks, argumentative and declamatory, appear week after week in almost every kind and shape of publication; but, on the other side, only a few faint words are uttered, and scarcely heard; we are convinced that a just sentence will not be the issue. Here, however, as in other cases, we shall not rush, although we may at length be goaded, into controversy: we write with pain and reluctance, although we write in self-defence; and most cheerfully shall we drop our arms at the very first instant that the *movement party* in the Society can be induced to discontinue their aggressions.

There are now lying before us papers relating to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sufficient to fill a volume. Yet, from the single wish of avoiding needless irritation, we still refrain from making much use of them. We are content to give *this* announcement, without having either desire or fear that we may be challenged to do more; namely, that if sound religion is precious to us; if the principles of reason and equity are to avail with us; if the views in which a society was originally formed are elements to be taken into the account; if ancient usage and long prescription are not to be as a jest and a bye-word, we are *able* to bring forward one of the most complete, the most convincing, the most overwhelming, the most demolishing arguments, that ever was presented to any minds capable of understanding consecutive propositions, or of proceeding from obvious premises to undeniable conclusions. We could undertake to prove, that, while the abstract merits of the question as to the now disputed points of theology are in our favour, there are other and antecedent considerations, *quite independent of these abstract merits*,

which it were sheer infatuation and treachery to overlook. We could undertake to prove, from the spoken, and written, and printed admissions of our opponents themselves, that the history, the constitution, the first transactions of this Society, the opinions of the framers who have founded it, and the benefactors who have enriched it, are all arrayed against them. We could undertake to demonstrate, again, that the managers of the Society have been *pledged*, within the last two years, not to make or admit any essential change in the theological character of its publications. We could undertake to demonstrate, that the antagonist parties, if antagonist parties there be, in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, are not to be placed on the same level; unless they who would stand upon the old paths, and administer the affairs and the funds in accordance with the primitive design and the usual course, are to be regarded in merely the same light with those whose every step is a step towards innovation. We could undertake to demonstrate, that the aggressive measures have been, and are, wholly and solely, on one side; and thence to infer that *they* have no right to talk of concord and harmony, who have been themselves the main, the only, causes of commotion and dissension; unless, indeed, the besiegers are entitled to say to the besieged, and the invaders to the defenders of a country, "just give us up your citadel, just resign to us your land, and the blessings of peace shall be restored at once and without difficulty." In a word, we could undertake to prove a series of sweeping vituperations and perpetual attacks, which might startle some in the torpor of their inadvertence, and arouse others from the slumbers of their indifference, and inspire others, again, with a more strenuous and inflexible determination to resist all further encroachments, at whatever hazards and at whatever sacrifice.

But we now pause upon the threshold. We trust that the dignitaries of the Church, and the most exalted members of the Laity, will interpose with a voice far more authoritative than our individual, though earnest, remonstrances. Yet, we venture to repeat, the disputes must be set at rest. They can best be set at rest by promptitude and vigour of interference on the part of those to whom even presumption must bow, and before whom even turbulence must be silent. But unless something immediate be done, there are men, we know well, whom no considerations upon earth will prevent from bringing matters to a decisive issue. They feel that the *most* important question which is now agitated within the Church, is the question which relates to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: they feel, too, that the most fatal blow, which can be inflicted upon orthodox Churchmanship, will be the transfer of that Society from the hands of wisdom and

moderation into the hands of enthusiasm and violence,—its character altered,—its original principles disregarded as a tale that is told,—its proceedings become the opprobrium of Church and Clergy,—and the funds diverted to purposes other than those which the donors had in view. They are *prepared to act*; and yet *anxious not to act*, unless there be a stern, cogent, perceptible and imperative necessity. Actuated by similar motives, *we*, in our humble capacity, now turn aside from urging the topics which we have suggested,—prepared, however, to urge them home, resolutely, firmly, but without a shadow of personal ill-will, if a struggle become indispensable to the restoration of tranquillity.

In the same spirit we forbear to notice what has been done in the case of *Death-Bed Scenes*, for instance, or to dwell at any length upon some other subjects equally sore. Indeed, concerning the mutilation of some of the *oldest* tracts upon the society's list, we could not say one word without pain; and happily we are spared the necessity of saying much. The episcopal referees have evinced a decided disinclination to their share in the sacrifice: and by the members of the Tract Committee, the practice, if not the right, of such revision and alteration, is likely to be abandoned. Verily, we always felt from the beginning, that the imperfect manner in which, at best or at worst, the business would be performed, would not give full satisfaction to any party, or to any fragment of any party. Let us take the case of Mr. Melmoth. Here is a work written by a layman: a work, not intended as a body of divinity, not intended as a treatise of speculative theology, systematic and complete; but as a practical exhortation upon the practical part of religion. But is it to be supposed, we ask, that, in every single tract, every single tenet of theology is to be expounded, more than it is in every single chapter of the word of God? Or is it altogether prejudicial that Scriptural terms should sometimes be translated, as it were, into the phraseology of the current literature, and the common language of moral philosophy? We should answer both questions in the negative. Yet how apparent is the *animus* with which the omissions and alterations are made! Their whole drift and spirit consists in a shrinking abhorrence of any expressions such as "*a good life*;" the "*satisfactions*" of virtuous conduct; or the "*complacency*" arising from the "*well-spent*" hours of existence. "The expression," says the pious gatherer of the exiled and outcast passages, "the expression, a '*good life*,' is uniformly rejected; so also, a *well-spent life*." A *good conscience*, too, is a phrase that gives offence. In short, there seems a sensitive dislike of the notion, that the performance of moral duties is valuable "*for its own sake*;" or that the reflections of a death-bed ought to be poignant or consolatory,

in proportion as men have lived well or ill; so that it *may* soon be held impossible, that a man should look back with pleasure upon his good works, without boasting of them, or pretending to be *justified* by their "merit;" so that soon it *may* be deemed unevangelical to talk of "morality," and unchristian to talk of *virtue*; and the common terms of moral duty must be expunged from the vocabulary of a believer.—This is sorry theology; and yet, in the present instance, although it has extended its expurgations to the Catechism and the Liturgy, it is not carried, according to its own principles, half far enough. Much has it omitted to omit; nor are even all its substitutions unexceptionable, or all its purifications pure. In sober truth, when the edict for excision went forth, the knife, we think, ought, in consistency, to have been applied to the title-page—"The *importance* of a religious *life*:"—"the *great importance* of a Christian life considered!"—This ought hardly to have been left, if the tendency of the alterations is towards the tenets of enthusiasts who would argue that a Christian *life* is of no importance at all. Or what is *gained*, upon this system, by changing "our sincere obedience to God's commandments will certainly be rewarded" into "a truly religious life will certainly be rewarded?" Is it not clear, that either too much has been done, or too little? But, imagining, as we well can, the extreme delicacy, and difficulty, and disagreeableness of the task imposed on the Committee, we will not enter into an invidious dissection of the extent to which it has been executed, either as to Melmoth's Christian Life, or as to the "Pious Parishioner Instructed." Our objection lies wider than any particular details. It goes the whole length of the principle. We hold that for the successors in a society to alter and abridge, in such a way that alteration and abridgment imply reprehension, the work of one of the founders, is a thing not merely injudicious, but unconstitutional. If tracts, in the course of time, slide into disfavour on any *literary* account; if they have not pith enough, or briskness enough, or attractiveness enough, for the march of the age, let them at least die a natural death; let them fall, gently and decently, into the calm sleep of oblivion: but let them not be lopped, and maimed, and mangled, while, perhaps, there is yet a demand for them, in order to suit them to a modern taste, which, after all, will not be satisfied: let them not be immolated by friends as a propitiatory sacrifice to antagonists.

In venturing these free remarks, we have no fear that we shall wound the feelings of the Tract Committee. They will rather thank us, we believe, for helping to rid them fairly of an irksome employment, which they have always undertaken with reluctance. They may be almost ready to lament with us those "expurging

processes," which, as Milton said of them, "rake through the bowels of many an old good author, with a violation worse than any that could be offered to his tomb."

Again, still wishing for peace, we shall pass lightly over the late proceedings of the Society; the motions which have been made; the reports which have been published in a newspaper; and the discussions to which those reports have given rise. It is impossible, however, for us to do our duty, without remarking, that, although the affairs of the Society are as to their external aspect most flourishing, nevertheless, dispassionate observers are compelled to regard its position with misgiving and uneasiness;—while some are almost ready to turn away their thoughts from it in distaste or despair. They see, that there is something wrong, something uncomfortable; something, which, unless it be checked in time, will proceed from discord to disunion; and can only terminate, either in the dismemberment of the Society, or in the utter subversion of its original principles.

For let us look at the Society in this point of view. Let us look at the present composition of the monthly meetings. The time has been—oh, surely it has not passed away for ever—when, at the meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the most dignified, and experienced, and influential members of the Church, both among the clergy and the laity, took the principal share: and when the proper business of the Society was conducted with the most quiet, orderly, and decorous regularity. At the meetings in the spring, some at least among our prelates were almost sure to attend. How do matters stand *now*? The Bishop of London, alone and unsupported, has taken the chair once or twice since the recess. But at the last two meetings—those, namely, in February and March,—not a single Bishop has been present; and at the last—although, happily, it is true, a very able and excellent man presided,—there was not even an archdeacon. And yet the room was full, thronged, crammed: and yet the points to be discussed were of the utmost importance. But the prelates—and is this wonderful?—have been unwilling to subject themselves to vexation and annoyance; or to mix themselves up with ebullitions of intemperance and spleen, which might almost disgrace a well-regulated debating club. And the proof is, that, at the very time of their absence from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, almost all the bishops must have been in the immediate neighbourhood, from having come up to discharge their parliamentary duties; and that many of them *did* attend other charitable and religious meetings. Moreover, how many other men have withdrawn themselves, whom the Society has every reason to miss and regret. The oldest, the staunchest,

the most tried members,—we might well ask, “*where are they?*” and echo might answer “*where,*” but that the echoes of the Society’s room have something else to do, and quite other sounds to reverberate. These men have been estranged by the coldness with which their views have been regarded; or they have been scared away by the organized efforts which connect themselves with the pressure from without and the articles in a newspaper. And are not these things significant? Do they convey no warning? Have they no voice? Or, is it fit that the house of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Lincoln’s-Inn Fields should be converted into a stage, where the religious adventurer is to make his *début*, and where controversy of the most useless and unmitigated kind, is to hold its carnival?

Yet such must the case be, unless order is enforced, irregularities discountenanced, and frivolous, irrelevant, time-consuming motions stopped at the outset, when they would interpose their noisy interruptions between the Society and its actual business. Our quarrel, in fact, with the gentlemen, who make them, is, let it be well understood, not so much with the opinions, which they hold, as with the line of action, which they think proper to pursue. We complain, not so much of the extravagant divinity, as of the utter anarchy, which they are strenuous to introduce. We do not think that they will improve the theology of the association: we are quite sure that they will reduce to a perfect chaos all that it has hitherto possessed of good order or regular government. If no curb is put into their mouths, and no check upon their proceedings, they will render the right administration of its affairs, and the tranquil discharge of its legitimate business, a thing impossible. And why? Because, however well intentioned, they are evidently weak and ill-informed: because they have entered the society with views the most unphilosophical and the most unsound; because as to the science and *rationale* of societies in general, they know literally nothing; and because, as to this society in particular, they have never inquired into its history, or studied its constitution, or acquainted themselves with its usages, or troubled their brains about its true functions and purposes, and the place which properly belongs to it in the division of intellectual and spiritual labour. By some process, quite mysterious and inscrutable to our minds, they have learnt to regard it as a theatre in which they may exhibit themselves and their oratory *ad libitum*, and vent their crudities or half-concocted speculations without restriction or reserve: as a kind of ecclesiastical parliament, where debates are to be held upon the whole multitude of matters in which the Church is interested,—all its doctrines, and all its polity—all that agitates it within, and all that affects it from without: in a word,

as an irregular and unauthorized *Convocation*, composed both of clergy and laity, contriving to include all the inconveniences of the *Convocations*, which have been laid aside, and leave out all the advantages;—having more than all the tumult, and not one particle of the authority.

Such men, it is a logical, we fear, though not very consolatory conclusion, have neither “*the disposition to preserve*,” nor “*the ability to improve*”—those two qualifications, which, taken together, are, as a great statesman has said, “the standard of practical wisdom;—but without which,” he adds, “*every* thing else is vulgar in the conception, perilous in the execution.”

Moreover, we would contend, that, before alterations of doctrine, or *any fundamental* alterations, are admitted, the sense of the whole Society at large should be fairly taken; the widest and most effectual means should be adopted for collecting the suffrages of the subscribers in the country. Full opportunity, at least, should be allowed them for declaring their sentiments.

For, in the first place, it is hardly just that the mere, and perhaps accidental, majority at a Board in the metropolis should, by their comparative paucity of numbers, determine changes so momentous. It is hardly just that the small fraction of 100 or 200 should bind the vast aggregate of 15,000 or 16,000. It is hardly just that the theology of a long-established and influential body should depend upon the members who happen to be collected in a room which is not capable of holding more than 400 persons, and in which the rest would be precluded, by an architectural impossibility, from expressing their opinions, even if they had come up from a distance for that very purpose.

Besides, there is this second reason, why the country members should not be implicitly bound by the Clergy of the capital, or any other large town. In any particular diocese there may prevail a particular style of divinity; and, in cities or large towns, such as Bath, Cheltenham, Liverpool, Portsmouth, and, perhaps, London above all, the theological temperature is affected by many local circumstances. The thermometer, we will not say, of piety, —but of religious excitement,—ranges higher than in more quiet neighbourhoods. The multitude of lectureships and lecturers,—of proprietary chapels, and ministers attached to them,—the stimulants, which force enthusiasm as in a hot-bed,—the peculiar character of the religious newspapers, and floating religious publications,—the currency of religious gossip,—the warm colouring and the gorgeous drapery with which Christianity is invested,—the impassioned delivery, and the other devices of attractiveness, which are engendered by the love of popularity, and fed by its attainment,—all these things, so different from the more sober

ministrations of rural districts, may render the theory and practice of Christian devotion and Christian knowledge, in a capital or populous town, the types of merely partial and temporary, not of endemic and universal, feelings. Thus the religious temper of a city may be by no means the best criterion of the religious temper of a kingdom. We would even allege, by way of example, that, as far as our experience goes, the religious tone of the *metropolis*, and of the *Universities*, is, in many respects, widely distinct; however recently they who minister to London Congregations may have been imported from Oxford or Cambridge. Hence it follows, that, although they who are on the spot must, from that very circumstance, have more to do with the *details* of a society than those who are at a distance from head-quarters, still they must not be allowed to usurp an exclusive jurisdiction. And, if they who, from their leisure, or from their habits and pursuits, can be always forthcoming on the first Tuesday in a month, may elect themselves as delegates and plenipotentiaries empowered in all points to fetter all the absent,—whether tied to their secular pursuits,—or immersed in parochial engagements,—an entire society may be *surprised* into measures which it could not calmly contemplate without apprehension and regret. The introduction of *essential* changes should be the consequence of a verdict of a graver—more deliberate—more general—more formal—more authoritative kind. Nor, in point of fact, are the monthly meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge of the same character as the annual meetings of other societies, where matters are arranged as by chosen deputies and representatives from a whole association.

On similar grounds, we are inclined to doubt, as we have hinted at an earlier stage of these remarks, whether any Standing Committee, or any Tract Committee, is competent of itself to *legislate anew* on points which involve the constitution of a society, or are really vital to its highest interests. The province of committees is rather to manage its routine business, and administer its concerns, *pro re natâ*, in conformity with the standing rules and the established usages. They cannot, without danger, be endowed with any plenary authority for alteration and re-construction.

For this reason, we have always looked upon societies in general,—and, especially, old societies, where the members are so numerous, that they cannot conveniently meet together to consider the primary laws,—as institutions, in which, above all others, fixed and ascertained principles are of indispensable necessity. When once the spirit of innovation and fluctuation pervades them, from that period the difficulties of their direction and government become almost insuperable: the whole machine is disordered,—the

whole frame is out of joint,—and it even becomes a question in what hands the prerogative of organic re-adjustment is vested and lodged. Administrative changes may be requisite;—adaptation to the times may be made in matters which are fairly progressive;—and expansion may be given in matters which are fairly expansive;—an enlarged superstructure may be reared upon the old foundations, and in character with the rest of the edifice:—but, for the rest, stability,—we emphatically repeat, *stability*, uniformity, and certainty of operations, are the real elements of enduring prosperity and usefulness, without which no society can flourish or be secure: and change,—which shakes confidence, and banishes repose, and engenders strife,—change is an evil in itself which can only be counterbalanced by some vast, palpable, immediate, indisputable benefit, recognized at once by at least two-thirds of the whole number of members who compose the association.

Yet, although there may be an earnest desire to preserve the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge stable as to those divine verities which are immutable in themselves, there has been *no* tendency to lethargy or stagnation as to those matters which march onward with the onward march of mankind. The just distinction has been drawn between innovations in religion, which are almost always error; and adaptation to improvements in human science, which is the child of wisdom. Let one preposterous accusation, therefore, fall to the ground. Has this Society been managed of late years upon narrow principles? Rather, what society has shown itself so capable of enlargement and advance? What society has been so pliant and ductile to the intellectual wants and capabilities of the nation? And so let another absurd charge be driven out of court. Is there need that the rays of public scrutiny and public opinion should penetrate the gloom of this Society? Rather, what society is to be found of which the proceedings are so open, and the constitution so democratical? With its monthly meetings,—with its annual, and then quarterly, and now, we suppose, monthly reports,—what society throws itself so fairly before the face of day?

One misfortune, however, is, that licentious proceedings too often lead to an almost necessary invasion of just liberty. Thus it may be in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Restrictions may be imposed upon all from the indiscretions and intractability of a few. Something, as we have said, must and will be done. The present course of things, which has been changed from a quiet flow to a turbid torrent, must be arrested. Already, the country members are astonished and alarmed. We know a most respectable clergyman who happened to attend one

of the late meetings in London, and who could scarcely find words to express his surprise and annoyance. He thought that we were *disputation-mad*, and that a *motion-mania* was upon us. And he went back, earnestly wishing us a good deliverance, and heartily congratulating himself that they managed things better in the country. Some, again, desire to send up deputations expressive of their opinions. Others would claim to vote by proxy. Others propose that there should be 200 incorporated members, in whom the whole power of the Society should rest. Every man has his own project, as usually happens, when an institution is tossed about and unsettled. Even in the metropolis, how many and how different schemes are proposed! Some would change the order of business; some would forbid notes; some would admit regular reporters; some would have meetings only once or twice a year, at which, of course, an established routine of proceedings would be necessary, and no irregular speeches or motions could be permitted. The one only point, in which all seem to concur—and we hold it to be the fullest justification of our strictures—is, that *things cannot remain exactly as they are*.

Such is the present and visible effect of those discords, and divisions, and differences, which may be, or may not be, real and formidable. For ourselves, we are quite ready to take whichever alternative may be presented. Either there is a schism in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, or there is none. If there is a schism, who has made it? If there is no schism, why is there so much noise? The points in dispute are either important, or unimportant. If they are unimportant, why is this heat of controversy engendered, why is this mass of disquietude called into life, on account of matters that are insignificant and trivial? If they are important, on what principles of reasoning is it supposed that the old and established party is to give way? If they are so important as some persons declare, if they actually involve the highest interests of Protestantism, and even the essence and foundation of Christian truth, then it is quite evident, that, sooner or later, there must be an open rupture, a formal struggle for the possession of the Society, and the application of its influence and its funds. But, really, are gentlemen who have just gained an uncertain footing on the premises to affect surprise that the ancient occupiers will not quietly and patiently receive notice to quit, but presume to render necessary the process of ejectment?

Yet we must question, whether it is either safe, or wise, to pretend that there are no differences, while other persons are pushing their own views with the utmost vigour, upon the express plea that there is a radical and vital difference; or to affect neutrality,

and oppose, at most, a merely negative resistance, while other persons are persevering in bold and unremitted assaults.

In the Church, the differences may be, for the most part, rather verbal misunderstandings, than real and serious disagreements of belief. With respect to the *moderate* men of all parties we have ourselves expressed that opinion; and most gladly, as long as we can, would we cherish that opinion, and act upon that opinion. But, in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, if there be no difference as to theological sentiment, there must be the stronger difference as to modes of conduct. Wherefore, we do earnestly call upon the excellent and influential men, who hold that the differences in doctrine are slight and evanescent, to follow up their statement to the legitimate conclusion, and openly declare, that the efforts of a *movement-party*, an *agitation-party*, must be without excuse. We do call upon them to say to all refractory and insubordinate individuals;—"Our principles make us your opponents. . Because we do not recognise you as a party in the Church, we are compelled to look upon you as a faction in the Society. Real difference there is none; therefore, real cause for dissension, and for alteration, there is none. You are creating a disturbance about nothing. You are exciting tumult for tumult's sake. You must be put down, not with the strong hand, but with the plain word." Such, we maintain, is the language, which the "no difference" members are bound by plain reason and consistency to use. Otherwise, their argument will be on the one side, and their actions will tell on the other.

At the same time, we have no *wish* that there *should* be parties, or *should* be a contest; but upon the *hypothesis* that there *must* be, we would just say two words in conclusion.

r | If there must be parties, we plainly tell the members of the old orthodox party, that, if they abandon the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; if they secede from it in a faintheartedness, which may not be quite unnatural; or an impatient fretfulness, which may not be quite without a cause, they will be committing an act of lunacy, and the only right verdict must be *felo de se*. There would indeed be no justification in any other party for teasing and worrying them into exile; but they would almost deserve to be driven out. Let them recollect, that this is their Society, or ought to be theirs. Let them recollect, that if they leave this Society, they have no other in which they can carry forward the same kind of operations for the good of mankind and in the cause of Jesus Christ. Let them think, what will be the inference, if they surrender this their fortress; if, out of this, which has been their strong-hold for now several generations, they are not so much dislodged as frightened. If, while they have a ma-

majority, a vast majority, of the whole body on their side; while they have, not an exclusive possession, but still a firm tenure, they resign and depart,—then, what will be their reflections ten years hence, as they shall see to what a condition the Church of England is reduced. For, if their cause is lost in the Society, *à fortiori*, it is lost in the Church at large. For their case is even stronger in the Society than in the Church. It has all the same arguments and the same witnesses in its favour, with the additional and peculiar strength derived from the origin, and history, and constitution of the Society. Wherefore, we repeat, give up the Society, and all is indeed given up and gone! And yet such things as secession and abandonment have been seriously proposed. Oh, infatuation! Oh, shame! Men are to quit their own field, with their own ploughshare standing upon it. “*Quam autem habet æquitatem, ut agrum, qui non habuit, habeat, qui autem habuit, amittat?*”

But the seceders can form a new Society, and conduct it according to the old principles and the old system of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Alas! who will place reliance in the fresh schemes of divided and disheartened men, who have already delivered up, without one shadow of necessity, their own loved and time-honoured Association? With what hopes, and under what auspices, will their work be begun? But let us suppose the first difficulties overcome: let us suppose the new Society undertaken; let us suppose it formed; let us suppose it in action. To that new Society let those self-banished exiles contribute their subscriptions: to that new society let them make their donations: to that new society let them bequeath their legacies. Very well. But what guarantee can there be, that the same game shall not be played; that the same wretched cycle shall not be repeated? What guarantee can there be, that these irresolute occupants will not have sown the grain, only to be reaped by the intruder? And that persons of another party will not be encouraged, even by the present precedent, to seize upon the fresh association, when it has been matured and consolidated? The same qualities of weakness and indecision, which can give up one Society, will give up two, or two thousand. And what is *their* love of truth, who allow error to be dominant; or what *their* magnanimity who fling away, from a dread of inconvenience and annoyance, the things which they yet hold to be most valuable and sacred? If need should actually arise—we earnestly contend, that it has not yet arisen—let a new Society be instituted: but still we, for our parts, will never migrate from the old. We say to those friends—for whom our esteem and respect is so great, that the fuller expression of our sentiments might sound like flattery—that,

if there must be a secession, it is not for *them* to secede—if there must be a departure, it is not for *them* to go. Rather, the state of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge imperatively demands of them, that they should attend its every meeting: that they should give the benefit of their established character, of their influence, of their experience, of their wisdom, at its every meeting. It is their absence which emboldens their opponents. But, even if they stay away, there are others, whose determination is taken. They will not desert. If there should be none to sit beside them, they would continue alone; they would endeavour to lift up their voice alone: they would remain, that the vindication of right might not fall into absolute desuetude, to utter a solemn protest in behalf of the founders of the Society, and to bear a solitary witness, that their memories were not altogether forgotten.

Again, upon the hypothesis, that there is to be a contest, we do wish that it should be thoroughly understood, and constantly kept in mind, what is the *nature* of that contest, and what the *relative position* of the parties who will be engaged in it. For what is the ground of that contest? It is not any longer a dispute about the extent of the Society's operations, or the best mode of regulating its pecuniary affairs, or managing its commercial and mechanical arrangements. Neither is it a difference of opinion about novel circumstances, which have recently started up, and therefore afford a fair field for discussion. Still less is it an opposition to strange and exotic doctrines lately introduced. It is just the reverse. It is an attempt to dismiss with contumely, or mutilate without remorse, the "*old and standard*"—we quote the words of an adversary,—"*the old and standard tracts*" of the Society. In other words, it is an attempt to alter the whole tone and spirit of its theology. This, and this only, is the origin of the present disagreements. If this attempt were given up, scarcely a spark, which could kindle controversy, would remain; but the august and holy designs of the Society could be pursued at once in peace and quietness.—And what is the relative position of the parties who must be engaged in the contest? The attitude, on the one side, is the defensive attitude of men, who would resist encroachment upon encroachment;—and for whom, in this resistance, we may surely claim, as compared with their assailants, an equal knowledge of sound divinity, an equal attachment to this venerable Society, an equal sincerity and conscientiousness of purpose, an equal zeal for the spread of religious knowledge, and the advancement of the kingdom of their Lord and Saviour. The attitude, on the other side, is the attitude of men, who, having stormed one post, are advancing to storm another: and some of these men, we conceive, have even entered the Society with the express

design of revolutionizing its character—a design, which must engender, of itself, the most suspicious vigilance, the most anxious uneasiness; and may eventually cause the most harassing obstructions to be thrown in the way of the admission of new members.—The argument to be founded on these considerations, together with the *limitations* within, but not *beyond* which, it is to be maintained, we keep back, as our readers will remember, *by design*. But we must state the case as it actually stands. For a misconception, or forgetfulness of its real features, is, perhaps, the main root of indecision and mischief. To regard the question as one of an altogether open and ordinary kind, and the parties as meeting on the same terms, is to place the matter upon quite a wrong basis, is to view the dispute in quite a fallacious shape and aspect, is to inflict upon *this* Society a palpable injustice, and to establish a precedent which may be most injurious to the steadfastness and repose of all *other* societies.

It is a painful feeling, which besets us at the close of our observations, to be aware, that we have not even touched upon some high and interesting subjects, which would at least have carried us out of the troubled region of feud and controversy:—such as the general principles, on which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge must now be conducted, with reference to those new and momentous circumstances, which we have mentioned in a preceding article:—such, again, as the connection which it must maintain between religion and human knowledge, and the mode of that connection. But, alas, it is almost vain to talk about those matters, while men's minds are set upon theological disputes. *First*, we must have *peace* in the Society; and *then* we may hope for the extension and completion of its admirable designs. Now, perhaps—yet it is not inclination, but a very painful sense of necessity, which has impelled us—we may be ranked among the belligerents. Yet we, too, would at some early opportunity, propose our plan of pacification, in the fond trust that it may be successful. For none, assuredly, can have a keener perception than ourselves, what a shock it would be to the whole extent of Christendom, if this Society, so great, so prosperous, so influential without; so potent for the highest good in both hemispheres, and over almost every territory of the habitable globe, should be shattered and fall to pieces by its internal disorders!

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

THEOLOGY.

It is impossible even to write the word "Theology," without recurring, with a sigh, to the memory of those theologians—the one among the most illustrious, the other, at least, among the most laborious of our time—who, since the publication of our last number, have been called from their labour to their reward. Dr. Van Mildert—the learned, the pious, the munificent, the orthodox prelate—has been removed from the See of Durham by the hand of death: and his successor is Dr. Maltby;—Dr. Burton, the indefatigable scholar, the respected teacher, has been cut off in the noontide of manhood: and his substitute in the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford is Dr. Hampden. Great, in both cases, is the loss to the Church of England. Nor is it any disparagement to Dr. Maltby and Dr. Hampden to affirm, that, however able, and however estimable they may be, and their talents and virtues as individuals we are not calling into question, they cannot yet occupy that station in the hearts and minds of Churchmen which was filled by those who are no more.

Many, indeed, there are, who go about uttering the lamentable prophecy of "*woe, woe, woe!*"—and declaring, "Alas! the brightest stars have gone out from the firmament of our Church; and the ascendant fires which are to supply their absence, shine upon us with no fixed and steady lustre. The golden branches drop off from the tree of our theology; and they, which are engrafted into their vacant places, neither have the same leaves, nor are capable of *bearing the same fruit.*" Yet, if we can no longer say, as was our boast of old, "*uno avulso non deficit alter,*" it is not, assuredly it is not, that profound thinkers, and capital divines, and irreproachable clergymen, are wanting in our Universities and our Church. Our land is rich in excellent men worthy to be the successors of the best that have departed. It were invidious to mention names; and, even after furnishing a long list, we should still be compelled to omit others, whom we had wished to specify. What, then, is the reason, if far inferior theologians are appointed to the highest seats? It is, that the selection is made, not from the real body of the Clergy at large, but from a particular *clique*, a little *coterie* of speculatists, who decry speculation,—theorists, who attack theory,—men, who are imbued with a taint of uneradicable error; or else, who do not penetrate into the depth of their own notions, nor see the legitimate conclusions to be drawn from their own premises;—men, who either entertain tenets which are radically and lamentably unsound; or who, by the strangeness of their expressions, dress up orthodox sentiments in an obnoxious and offensive garb; and commit the almost incredible indiscretion of making their own language a travesty and caricature of their own opinions."

Now, who is there among us, that has not heard such complaints uttered and

repeated a hundred times within the last two months? How far are they true? If we looked to personal and prudential considerations, we should preserve a steady neutrality of silence, careful not to give offence or to make enemies; but we speak—and more particularly of Dr. Hampden—because far higher things are at stake than any good or evil which can happen to a few humble individuals.

We may not see the matter in quite the same light in which it has been regarded; but, as Dr. Hampden is to give a tone to English theology, and be the religious instructor of the most important pupils, there is one fallacy which we think it is most essential to explode: The seduction, by which young minds are peculiarly led away, is the notion of liberality and expansiveness as attached to particular schemes of doctrine, or modes of opinion. Dr. Hampden, too, and the school to which he belongs, appear themselves to fancy that their views are incomparably acute, and profound, and enlarged. We are anxious, therefore, to assure them, that these same views are, in point of fact, but a poor and superficial pedantry; confused, and jejune, and narrow-minded in the extreme, having no shadow of pretence to originality, except a fantastic method of expression; and sometimes beyond the vulgar comprehension on the simple principle

“That true no-meaning puzzles more than wit.”

In other days, they would have been merely laughed down as ridiculous; and their authors would have been enjoined to read and think a little longer before they ventured to put such crudities before the world; and to harmonize their own views before they endeavoured to palm them upon other people. But, unfortunately, they have become perilous from the character of these turbulent times, when so many light and worthless things have been brought suddenly to the surface. Still it would be a mockery to talk of conceptions, like Dr. Hampden's, as being impregnated with the spirit of comprehensive philosophy. Of practical wisdom they are altogether destitute; and by practical wisdom we mean not that low, and confined and mechanical habit of the mental vision, which never ascends to theory at all; but the adaptation of true theories to the widest range of actual and existing circumstances. These views evidently belong to men whose minds have never stepped forth into the general field of thought and action: they are views which have not even embraced the limits of an University, but have stopped short within the walls of a college: they breathe of a quadrangle; they smell of a common room.

But we ought, perhaps, to state, with a more particular specification, the views to which we allude. We mean, then, Dr. Hampden's assertions that the Bible contains nothing but facts; his protests against all systematic divinity, all methodical deductions from the Word of God. Men may argue that there are erroneous systems, and wrong deductions, and decrees, articles and confessions of faith, which serve only at once to mislead and fetter the human understanding. But what is this, after all, but the old and universally decried error of reasoning from the abuse of a thing against the use? Dr. Hampden is made *Professor of Divinity*; but will Dr. Hampden inform us, how he can hope to perform his duty as Professor, without having an exact and methodized knowledge of Divinity as a Science? or, how an exact and methodized knowledge is possible without arrange-

ment, and generalization of ideas? or, again, how an arrangement of ideas is possible without division and classification of ideas? or, how generalization of ideas is possible without general terms? Supposing, for the sake of argument, that Dr. Hampden's mind is framed with the same internal organization as the minds of other men, we will venture to say that, even while Dr. Hampden is declaiming against systematic divinity, his own divinity is systematized in his own understanding, from the very nature and necessities of his intellectual constitution. The question is simply this: and it reduces Dr. Hampden to a very embarrassing dilemma. Is theology to be treated as a science, or is it not? If it is not, why is Dr. Hampden professor? If it is, how is it to be treated without classification and order? Theology, as a *science*, must resemble, in its *intellectual* mode of treatment, all the other sciences. We have not any peculiar faculty, or set of faculties, for its peculiar investigation. Let Dr. Hampden look at any science which he chooses to take—zoology, or botany, or chemistry, or mineralogy, or geology; or, again, politics, or jurisprudence, or ethics, or metaphysics, or æsthetics. Generalizations may have been rashly and prematurely made: conclusions may have been drawn from incommensurate premises; theories may have been framed before a sufficient number of facts was collected;—but men are compelled—nay, the merest child is compelled in his first observations of external nature—to gather phenomena into laws, and reduce into order and arrangement the mass of unconnected particulars. And so far, as we have said, the science of religion bears a resemblance to other sciences. But then, again, there is that great *dissimilarity*, which we have already shown in another place. In religion, there is incomparably less danger of precipitate and incomplete and defective system. The probability rather is, that the waters will be purer and brighter, as they are more near the fountain-head. So that in divinity, as compared with other sciences, there is precisely the same cogent reason for making it methodical, and, at the same time, far more facility, and far less peril, in methodizing. We need not add, that it is one thing to recognize the use of human systems, and quite another to invest them with infallible and sacred authority.

To imagine, therefore, that the absence of systematic divinity would promote peace, or root out heresies, is to display a profound ignorance of human nature and human history. Destroy all the systematic divinity which exists: sweep away all creeds, and articles, and confessions of faith, all harmonies of the Gospel, all methodical comments upon the word of God; remove all the landmarks which pious research and Christian erudition have set up—suppose at least that all this was possible—suppose that it was done; suppose, too, that the things so abolished were actually forgotten, actually obliterated from the minds of Christians, as well as from the records of Christianity—suppose that the Bible only was left, without note, or concordance, or supplement of any kind whatsoever; and what would happen? Simply that men, from an intellectual and metaphysical necessity, would immediately begin to rebuild what had been demolished, and to do the work over again, with the melancholy disadvantage of having it entirely to re-commence. They would go through the steps where we have now the results. They would proceed again—how could they help it!—

to generalize, and arrange, and classify separated passages; to weave schemes and systems of divinity out of the Bible; and to gather up the scattered verities of Revelation into some logical and scholastic form. Or, else, if no systems were made, then speculation, having no definite marks and guide-posts, would be set afloat upon a mere sea of confusion: then an abundant crop of wild heresies would spring up as in a garden untrimmed and unweeded; the tares would flourish and luxuriate until they choked the wheat; and all would be a tangled maze of uncertainty and disorder. There has been systematic divinity from the days of the Apostles, and systematic divinity there must always be.

In fact, the complaint against us may be, that we have rested the matter upon grounds *infinitely too low*, and that the case, as it regards religion, is *infinitely stronger* than we have represented it. And certain it is that we *might*, and hereafter probably we *shall*, take far higher ground, both *doctrinally* as to apostolical tradition and apostolical forms; and, *practically*, as to the absurdity of an established Church without some fixed and established terms of communion. But now we have been anxious to meet Dr. Hampden more in his own field, and reason with him more in his own way.

Dr. Hampden, however, or Dr. Hampden's friends, may contend, that he never expressed an objection against terms of Christian communion; and that, in other points, his opinions have been misconceived and exaggerated. It is said, for instance, that Dr. Hampden did not mean by *facts* what other people mean by *facts*, but used the term with a far greater latitude of interpretation. Perhaps, too, Dr. Hampden may have imbibed notions from Whateley, De Gerando, and other writers, without attaching to them in his own mind any precise and definite limitations. But then the questions return, why did he put them forth, or why is he made Professor of Divinity? How obvious is the peril of a vague rationalism clothed in equivocal expressions! Let us just observe, by way of example, this very expression "*facts*." Professor Hampden argues that there are only facts in the Bible, and, properly, no doctrines. Professor Powell tells us that we must look to Scripture for doctrines only, and not for facts. Professor Powell reverences the Bible as a collection of moral and spiritual revelations; but denies its authority as an historical document, having any bearing upon the facts which are investigated by science, and the mutations which have happened to the globe. And there *may* be significations, or modes of explanation, in which both these theories are just. But the *tendency of the language* is this. Even while the peculiar distinction of the Bible is, that it *connects a series of facts with a system of doctrines*, one class of theologians may seek to do away with the former, and another class may seek to do away with the latter; and so absolutely nothing will be left. It is not enough to say of a Divinity Professor, that his words may be taken in a most heterodox and mischievous sense, but that he means no harm. We want, and we expect, clear, precise, well-considered, and well-adjusted statements, which may serve as a guide to young minds, and a regulator of loose opinions. But here, at the very best, we have positions so vague, so uncertain, so inconsistent, so neutralizing and belying each other, that, instead of directing, they must mislead,—instead of fixing, they must unsettle,—instead of satisfying, they must confuse and bewilder.

True vigour of investigation and candour of speech we admire, wherever we can find them. We have admired them, sometimes, in Dr. Hampden and the masters of his school. But still the objection may be sustained, in too many instances, that their theology is new, or that it looks like new; or, at least, that it looks as if it wanted to be thought new. But neologisms in matters of revealed religion are *primâ facie* bad, as being neologisms. They always serve, more or less, to throw a shade of doubt over the revelation itself; to shake and loosen the venerable and time-honoured pillars of established belief. But as Dr. Hampden now appears *not* to be a neologian, his peculiar misfortune is, that without being a heretic, he has wantonly, or ignorantly, assumed the appearance of something worse than he is; without being a Socinian, he has sometimes clothed his sentiments with a disguise of Socinianism. And whence has this mischief arisen? From the circumstance, we must think and say, that Dr. Hampden does not know his own mind; that instead of working out his opinions for himself, he has imbibed them at second hand; he has been inoculated with the *virus* by others; but, while he has partly taken the distemper, he has not properly received it into his intellectual system; and thus exhibits the symptoms of a man half healthy and half diseased, the strangest and most anomalous which can well be conceived.

In some preceding pages will have been found a plain historical statement of the facts relating to Dr. Hampden, and the protests against his appointment at Oxford. We had not intended, indeed, to say a word more. We have nothing to retract or to alter. We have not accused Dr. Hampden of Socinianism; but we have accused him of nonsense. We have censured his speculations, not so much because they were dangerous heresies—though recent circumstances have shown that there is danger—as because they were a heap of shallow and contradictory paralogisms, made up, for the most part, from preceding authors, whose theories Dr. Hampden had swallowed, without being able to digest. Some remarks in his Moral Philosophy we praised as very sound and valuable, though certainly we could not have praised them as very original. When we first heard of his elevation to the chair of Divinity, the thing sounded to us, we confess, not so much as an awful peril to the Church, as an unaccountable and melancholy blunder. But we now hear that the tide is turning—at least in London—not perhaps in favour of Dr. Hampden, but against the men who have been most honest and most strenuous in marking their sense of the evil of his appointment; men, with whom we may not agree in every shade of opinion, but who are assuredly worthy of all respect and esteem, if respect and esteem can ever be earned by erudition and piety. Hence have we spoken somewhat irregularly, perhaps, in this department of our Review. General allegations have been brought forward about the unfairness of making garbled extracts, and tearing passages from their context. And this practice *may* be most unfair. Yet we have before us “*Statements of Christian Doctrine, extracted from the published writings of Dr. Hampden,*” of which we are told in an Advertisement, “*these extracts have been made with the knowledge and sanction of the Author.*” And if extracts may be made to prove Dr. Hampden’s orthodoxy, why may they not be made to prove Dr. Hampden’s heterodoxy? And if they *can* be made to

prove both, what is the third thing which they may prove into the bargain? It is difficult, too, to see what we, unfortunate Reviewers for instance, are to do, if, in stating objections to a work, we are not at liberty to cite the objectionable paragraphs, or sentences, or phrases; but must be compelled either to remain silent, or to reprint the whole volume in our Article. *General* allegations, too, cannot prove the point either way. It must be shown by particular instances that the extracts have been garbled; that the quotations have been unjustly selected, or incorrectly given, or that they would bear a very different sense if the context was at hand. Has *this* been done or attempted in the case of Dr. Hampden? "Oh, but the personal religion of Dr. Hampden is unimpeachable; his private character is most amiable and exemplary." These circumstances, which we entirely believe, scarcely, if at all, affect the matter in dispute. "Oh, but his private opinions are sound." Alas, when a man publishes a foolish or heterodox book, it is in vain to talk of his private opinions. What proportion of those who read the one, can be acquainted with the other? Or who is to suspect that there exists a discrepancy? Men *must* judge by the book, not by the private opinions of the author. It is the book which influences, and not the private opinions. It is the book that goes about the world, and not the private opinions. "Oh, but if there are some passages of a strange and awkward appearance, there are others of a quite different tendency." Alas, here the mischief is, that where a *Clergyman of an Established Church* prints some things which are orthodox, and other things quite inconsistent with them, which are unsound and fantastical, the latter *will* be regarded by the mass of mankind as his true and inward sentiments; while the former will be considered as saving clauses, introduced either by the remains of old habit and lingering prejudice, or by apprehensive doubt and professional delicacy. "Oh, but the appointment is made; and it is now *too late* to oppose it or remonstrate against it." Yet the opposition, the remonstrance, may tell upon *future* appointments, and be a warning to other writers, who might start with the same temperament of mind and the same kind of literary ambition which have been displayed by Dr. Hampden.

"But we ought to be quite satisfied with the Inaugural Lecture which Dr. Hampden has read and published." With that lecture, if taken by itself, we should be satisfied. That lecture appears to us, upon the whole, an able and valuable and pious exposition of Christian doctrine. Yet it sounds strangely as proceeding from his mouth. It is no great pleasure to talk about "*a man turning his back upon himself*;" it is positively painful to enlarge upon inconsistency and self-contradiction; or to ring the changes upon the old quotations, "*quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore*"—"nil fuit unquam tam dispar sibi," and half-a-hundred more. But really, without dwelling upon particular phrases and passages, we must say that the whole tone and spirit of this address is strangely dissimilar from the peculiar cast of sentiment and diction so conspicuous in Dr. Hampden's former productions. Nor can we help thinking that, if Dr. Hampden wished and intended that his former theology should convey the same meaning and leave the same impression as his present, my Lord Melbourne has promoted him by mistake; and placed him in the Chair through a misapprehension: How does

the Regius Professor of Divinity rebuke the Bampton Lecturer and the author of Observations on Dissent. Dr. Hampden neither retracts nor defends his previous writings, but he quite stultifies and nullifies them. He virtually puts his own publications in the fire, and consigns them to neglect and oblivion as the best fate which can await them. And so let it be. Let them be as burnt; let them be as forgotten. Let Dr. Hampden, a man of neither mean abilities nor poor attainments; a man, too, still in the prime and vigour of life—let him boldly avow, that in some at least of his views he was mistaken; and start afresh upon a new career; and we shall be among the first to hail his progress and congratulate him on his success. We seek no triumph over Dr. Hampden himself; but we do seek a declared and acknowledged victory over the literal acceptance of some of his extreme notions, from which, in fact, his late Lecture is as different as orthodoxy is from neology. The Inaugural Lecture has certainly produced this effect, that many persons, who have read it, no longer know what to think. A letter is before us from a most acute and excellent friend, who asks, if men will not be puzzled by “Dr. Hampden’s *prodigious manifesto of orthodoxy*.” It is a puzzle. Either Dr. Hampden must himself have misunderstood his own former declarations; or he has been at extraordinary pains to render the whole drift of his peculiar theology, either *unintelligible*, or intelligible in a false and most injurious sense. He may now say, perhaps,

“I did mistake myself then all this while;
I find myself a marvellous proper man.”

If Dr. Hampden has changed his opinions, or discovered some innoxious meaning, well and good. In that case, let him state frankly, both in what way, and to what extent, he has changed them. If he has *not* changed them, his Lecture might have begun: “It may have excited some surprise in your minds to find me nominated and installed as Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. I am free to confess, that my present situation awakens somewhat of astonishment even in myself. It never entered into my calculations of futurity that the appellations of Dr. Hampden and Regius Professor of Divinity would become so intimately blended. In fact, had such been my anticipations, the world might have lost the benefit of some few among my printed and published sentiments. But, if my wonder is not small, my gratitude ought to be unbounded towards those worthy patrons who have made me Professor of the science of Theology, when I have done something to show that there ought to be no science of Theology at all. You may think it strange, however, that I should have accepted the appointment under such circumstances. Strange it may be; but personal considerations must give way to public good. And surely it is an advantage that there will no longer be a dead monotony and sameness in the theological teaching of this place; but, if from one Chair of Divinity the old scholastic notions are promulgated, from the other Chair, new and more awakening accents will issue forth, &c.”

But the matter is too serious for pleasantries; only we have endeavoured to rectify, in the least offensive way, a very prevalent mistake. It is, that men,

such as Dr. Hampden has been, are *attacked* and *persecuted* when they are opposed. *They* attack the Church; *they* persecute the Establishment. They are the aggressors and the only aggressors. Other men act rather from the necessities of self-defence, when they withstand the encroachments that would invalidate the authority of the Articles which they have sworn to maintain, and shake the stability of the Institution in which all their hopes, and fortunes and affections are now centred. To "*persecute*," as we conceive, implies to inflict some grievous and positive injury. But it is an abuse of language to talk of *persecution*, if Churchmen would guard their sanctuary, by uttering a solemn but not uncharitable protest against error; by keeping heterodoxy out of offices of dignity and influence; or, if it is placed in them, by circumscribing and abridging its opportunities of doing mischief, and using strenuous efforts that the system shall not spread. It is an abuse of language to say that these men persecute the Professor of Divinity. They may be stubborn; they may be impracticable; they may be wrong in remonstrating against an appointment by the Crown; they may be regardless of worldly and personal results as they act upon their conscientious convictions; they may pursue a doubtful course as far as the interests of the University are concerned; but Dr. Hampden, richly rewarded as he has been for opinions which he now seems inclined to abandon, and prepared, as he must have been, to take the evil consequences of his own acts as well as the good—Dr. Hampden, surely, has no reason to complain. Indeed, a very salutary lesson will have been given, if men like Dr. Hampden are taught that they cannot write upon religious subjects in a loose, ambiguous, pseudo-philosophical style; and employ expressions, upon which they may put one odd and unexpected sense, while all other persons in the kingdom, whether they who *admired* the sentiments or they who disapproved them, had already put another, without being called to a strict and scrutinizing account.

Having made these remarks in order to show that all which has been done, although it would be indefensible under ordinary circumstances, has not been without cause or justification in the present case, we have no desire to prolong the irritation or to cause annoyance to the Regius Professor in the exercise of his very important office. The opinion of the University has been made known. The Proctors have assumed the responsibility of putting their *veto* on the Convocation. Dr. Hampden has taken an orthodox line. Let him adhere to it, and we shall applaud with as much freedom and more pleasure than we have ever censured.

Upon the whole, however, it is most evident, that the opposition to Dr. Hampden, whether requisite or needless, has at least been untainted by a personal, or factious, or malignant character. It has been most thoroughly conscientious; it has been adverse rather than parallel to the current of private inclinations; it has been dictated solely by a zealous regard to the Scriptures and the Church. And the best proof is the reception of another appointment; namely, that of Dr. Longley to the vacant Bishopric. Now, Dr. Longley, as all agree in saying, is a man of amiable and pious mind, of polished and agreeable manners, of elegant and varied attainments. But who will deny that many men might be

named in a breath, older, or, if not older, yet riper in practical experience, more distinguished by their services to the Church, having clerical and theological claims beyond comparison higher and more prominent than Dr. Longley's, who have been passed over when he was raised to the Bench? And yet—inasmuch as Dr. Longley has done nothing to render himself obnoxious—although there are scarcely any grounds for ascertaining, or even judging, his endowments, and merits, and opinions as a *Divine*; his acquaintance with the general and parochial working of the system of the Establishment, his capacity to regulate a Diocese, to manage a body of Clergy, and to support the national Church at a conjuncture of no ordinary hazard, still the country and the University have, with the utmost cheerfulness, *taken him upon trust*; and not a murmur has been vented either against Dr. Longley, or the Prime Minister who was instrumental in appointing him. Let Dr. Hampden, then, be assured, that, if he has been singled out, they who have taken part against him, have taken it, not for their own sake, not for controversy and discord's sake; but for the sake of interests dearer to them than their own peace, or even the peace of their University!

Yet they, and we, it will be said, have been only fighting with shadows or with the wind; as Dr. Hampden now rejoices, that “*the Church interposes so usefully with her Creeds, and Articles, and Homilies, and Catechism, and Liturgy, and Canons. All these are subservient, in different manners and degrees, to the edifying of the body of Christ, to the strengthening of Christians in the most holy faith, to the devout understanding and practical reception of the Divine Revelation itself. Far be it from me to lessen the reverent estimation of these monuments of early piety and ancient zeal for the truths of God. I am satisfied in my own mind that they have been of essential use for maintaining the Christian religion in its integrity, in holding together the faithful in fast communion, in keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*” But then, why in the name of all that is reasonable or sacred, did Dr. Hampden, thus self-refuted and self-condemned, write as he has written? And with these words we drop the subject.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

We throw aside our own remarks on the Registration Bill and the Marriage Bill, in order to recommend attention to a very earnest, forcible, and well-reasoned pamphlet which has just reached us from the Rev. W. H. Hale, namely, “*Remarks on the Two Bills now before Parliament, entitled, A Bill for Registering Births, Deaths, and Marriages, in England, and a Bill for Marriages in England.*” Mr. Hale, who, as Chaplain to the Bishop of London, may be far more familiar with the subject, attaches much less importance than *we* are inclined to attach to the *benefits* of the proposed registration. He argues that for all practical uses it is not needed; that it will be, in its working, of a harsh and inquisitorial character; that it will help to estrange the population from the Church, and the flock from the pastor; that “it will be found the heaviest blow which has yet been aimed at the practice of *infant baptism*,” that in many instances it may supersede *Christian Baptism* altogether; or that it may re-intro-

duce the mischief of the frequent performance of the Baptismal ceremony in private houses: while the whole details of the Bill may seriously diminish the income of many Clergymen in Towns. We do trust, however, that the flagrant and desperate iniquity will not be committed of stripping the *present incumbents* by the operation of this bill, without affording them fit and due compensation, in accordance with all social justice and all legislative analogy. Against the Marriage Bill, Mr. Hale contends, that, while it will not satisfy the Dissenters, it will, either by the defectiveness of its principles, or the clumsiness of its machinery, afford terrible facilities to clandestine marriages; and yet, by throwing impediments in the way of every other, multiply the abomination of "*concubinage in the place of marriage*;"—that it will serve, moreover, to "*undermine the connection between the people and the Church*," and, through its bearing upon the Poor Law Unions, to inflict an additional wound, which, alas, was not wanted, upon the parochial system of the country; and, still further, that it will throw disgrace upon marriage as a religious ceremony; and do much to degrade it from a divine institution, and a sacred ordinance, into a merely civil contract:—an objection, by the way, which we ourselves urged, and perhaps on even stronger grounds, against the Bill of Sir Robert Peel.

The Report of the Church Commissioners is, of course, luminous and able; and will prove, we trust, congenial with the true principles of Church Reform. To expect that some inconvenience will be mingled here, as in every other cup of novelty and alteration, with the benefit of the proposed changes, is only to hint, in other words, that there is no unmingled good in human nature or in human affairs.

For instance, the see of Bristol is to be abolished; and Dr. Longley is to be Bishop of *Ripon*. Well, we only hope that this system will not be pursued farther than is necessary. The present changes, we shall not venture to doubt, are demanded by the aspect of circumstances, and the exigencies of the time. Still words are things. And they who make can unmake. And what the Legislature does in the session of 1836, the Legislature can undo in the session of 1837. It would betray ignorance of human nature to imagine that the same veneration will be paid, and the same prescriptive sanction will be attached, to the Bishopric of *Ripon* as to the Bishopric of *Bristol*. The feeling has not the same root. There is not the same fence of antiquity to guard it; or the same spirit of old reverence to endear it; or the same long series of hallowing associations to consecrate it. It is probable, that, if the number of Bishops were preserved inviolate, and yet they were all to alter their "*local habitation and their name*," Episcopacy itself would scarcely be worth ten years' purchase. The precedent, too, has been set, and one constellation, as it were, is blotted out of the hierarchy. But, alas, after all, we can merely come to the sapient conclusion, that what is, is, and what must be, must be. "*Diruit, ædificat, mutat*," is the motto of the century; and, in all human probability, it will be the motto of the next,—and the next,—and the next for ever.

But these are subjects on which we may well distrust ourselves. We rather turn, for our rule and guide, to the pregnant words of Edmund Burke,—words

which we could wish every administration and every legislature to write as an epistle on their hearts. "All those who have affections which lead them to the consummation of civil order would recognize, even in its cradle, the child as legitimate, which has been produced from those principles of cogent expediency to which all just governments owe their birth, and on which they justify their continuance. * * * But in this, as in most questions of state, there is a middle. There is something else than the mere alternative of absolute destruction or unreformed existence. *Spartam nactus es, hanc exorna*. This is, in my opinion, a rule of profound sense, and ought never to depart from the mind of an honest reformer. * * * In all mutations (if mutations must be) the circumstance which will serve most to blunt the edge of their mischief, and to promote what good may be in them, is, that they should find us with our minds tenacious of justice, and tender of property. * * * It is with the greatest difficulty that I am able to separate policy from justice. Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society; and any eminent departure from it, under any circumstances, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all."

The bill for the Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales, bears upon it obvious marks of inaccuracy, arising from haste or inadvertence; and has clearly not yet been moulded into completeness and symmetry of shape. The Clergy, too, may be in some places losers; and there will always, and of necessity, be some hardships connected with a compulsory commutation, or, again, with a permanent, irrevocable composition which is to be obligatory through all future time. Even the *principle* of commutation may involve some evils and inconveniences, some departure from the highest and safest ground. But resistance, here, is neither desirable nor practicable. The proceedings, too, upon the Bill have been signalized by so good a spirit; it has been argued upon its merits in so philosophical and statesman-like a tone; instead of being made a party question, it has been hitherto discussed so steadily with a view to elicit what is true in itself and right towards all interests concerned, that we would not say one word to disturb the prevailing harmony, and willingly leave the matter to those members of the legislature, on both sides, who will have placed before them every proposition or suggestion which is likely to be useful.

There are, we ought to add, many zealous and right-hearted men who are crying out loudly for a Convocation, in order that the Clergy may assert their ancient right to legislate for themselves in matters relating to themselves. We apprehend, however, that the day for convocations is gone by; we fear that, if they could be restored, Convocations, of the lower house at least, would become, *internally*, scenes of controversy and disorder; and that they might exhibit the Clergy, as to their *external* relations, in an obnoxious, unfavourable light, without the actual attainment of any real advantage; in other words, that they might set the Clergy, as an *order*, in avowed or apparent opposition to the government or the majority of the people; and thus provoke obloquy without conferring any power. It is better we conceive, upon the whole, that Clergymen should be contented to express their opinions, or utter their protests, as exigencies arise, by addresses to their Diocesan, or petition to the legislature, in the pre-

vailing mode, and through the usual channels. At the same time we do sincerely wish that there could be a deliberative and judicial Synod of Archbishops and Bishops to settle, once for all, certain points relating to both faith and discipline.

But to proceed:—The Orange Associations are defunct. Nor are we among those who have followed them with lamentation to their graves, or who are inclined to write a “*resurgam*” for their epitaph. Cordially admiring the intentions and the integrity of many among the Orangemen, we have never been able to sympathise with Orange Institutions. Heaven forbid that so terrible a phoenix as a great Protestant Association or Union, a confederated amalgamation of all sects, should arise out of their ashes!

For the rest, we rejoice to think that the opposition to the Romanists is beginning to be conducted with a more skilful and judicious, and not a less firm or less intrepid spirit. In the Protestant Magazine, edited by Mr. Nangle, we find, indeed, such utterly unjustifiable expressions as “*the cannibalism of Popery*,” on account of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Eucharist; but the same writer talks, we believe, of *soul-murder* as applicable to some of the orthodox clergy of the Establishment. This unwise and intolerant virulence must soon die away, and Protestantism will be infinitely the gainer.

By the way, while our thoughts are upon enthusiasm and imprudence, we cannot but say one word about the kind of Advertisements which we perpetually see, of which the following is a specimen:—“St. Mary’s Parochial Chapel, Lambeth. Lent Lectures. ‘On Wednesday Evenings, during the Season of Lent, commencing on Ash Wednesday, a Series of LECTURES will, by Divine permission, be delivered on the HISTORY OF NEHEMIAH, when a practical and spiritual illustration of his character, as a *religious reformer and zealous patriot* will be *attempted*, by the Rev. H. S. Plumptre, Minister of the Chapel. The service to commence at 7 o’clock. N. B. A Lecture is delivered in the Chapel every Wednesday evening throughout the year.” Thus it is that Parochial ties are weakened, and the system of the Church is sapped, or grows distempered, by men trumpeting forth their predication about “*religious reformers and zealous patriots*.” Why are these things done, and why are they advertised? Does Mr. Plumptre, with the rest of the advertizing fraternity, preach to the inhabitants of a district, or to the town and suburbs?

And what is meant by Lectures delivered by *divine permission*? The words, to be taken in a conditional sense, are strangely ambiguous; and if they were to be understood in the usual acceptation, they would be flat blasphemy. If Mr. Plumptre were to publish his Lectures as dedicated “by *permission*, or by special permission,” to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his readers would suppose, as a matter of course, that the permission was already granted on the one part, and ascertained to be granted on the other.

GENERAL LITERATURE—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Here we are compelled to say, that we only undertake to consider, when we have space and time, the general character and influence of classes of literature, viewed in their bearings upon the religion and morality of a land; but that we cannot enter into a criticism of particular productions. We make this statement, because several treatises on arts and sciences; several grammars, dialogues, and exercises; several works of imagination, such as poems on secular subjects, dramas, biographies, novels, &c. have been forwarded to us for review;—some of the latter, Seymour of Sudley for instance, of considerable merit. We are thankful to the donors: but they must be satisfied, at least for the present, with the expression of our thanks.

We hear of a variety of important works, some just forthcoming, some nearly finished, some projected or begun. Among the rest, we understand that the Rev. John Wood Warter, of Tarring, is engaged upon the *Life and Labours of St. John Chrysostom*; anxious to do for that eminent father of the Church Catholic, what has been so admirably done by Bishop Kaye for Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. If other inquirers have information or suggestions to give with respect to Chrysostom, Mr. Warter, we dare say, would be obliged by their transmission: and we would take this opportunity of stating, that we shall feel gratification and pride, if we can be made, until better methods are adopted and arranged, a medium of communication between Christian scholars interested in similar studies, and employed upon tasks calculated to advance the cause of the Gospel, and shed more honour upon the republic or commonwealth of theological literature. We do, however, confidently hope, that we shall soon have a Church Report—or something like a Church Record Society—that is, an association of persons having for their sole object, to collect, arrange, and put forth, in the most comprehensive manner, the Statistics of the Church.

But we must now come to our own omissions. Among the deficiencies to be supplied—and none can be more conscious of them than ourselves—must be ranked our inadequate notice of, perhaps, the most sacred department of sacred learning. Yet reasons, some of which must be obvious, connected with the temper and circumstances of the times, have lately interposed with the task, which we hope soon to accomplish, of examining, as the importance of the matter demands, what our own and the Continental scholars have done, and are doing, with reference to the Hebrew language, and the other Eastern tongues which have an affinity with the Hebrew.

Among the works which we most regret our *present* inability to notice as they deserve, are—The First Report of the English Poor Law Commissioners; Mr. Greswell's two Volumes on the Burial Service; the lamented Dr. Burton's *History of the Church*; Mr. Gilbert's elaborate Congregational Lectures on the Atonement; the late Numbers of that excellent Series, the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*; the *Epitome of Niebuhr's History of Rome*, by Mr. Travers Twiss; *A View of the Creation of the World, in illustration of the Mosaic Record*, by the Rev. Charles James Burton; The Thoughts of Alexander Lord Pitsligo, with a

Biographical Sketch; the vigorous and philosophical *Chapters on Contemporary History*, by Sir John Walshe; *The Life of the Rev. Josiah Thompson*; Jowell's *Christian Visitor*; Taylor's *Memoirs of Howard, the Philanthropist*; *Sermons*, by W. E. Trenchard, M. A.; an eloquent, but rather fierce Sermon, in behalf of the Irish Clergy, by the Rev. Wm. Worthington; and some admirable French Sermons, preached in London, by M. Scholl.

The first volume of the collected works of Dr. Chalmers, we are under the necessity of leaving; for the treatise, which it contains, will not be complete until the appearance of the second. A consideration of the Edinburgh Church Lectures we must also postpone. To the Irish *Christian Examiner*, as, indeed, to the *Presbyterian Review*, on many accounts, and to the *Scottish Christian Herald*, we can only offer our good wishes. Glad, too, should we be, if our views could be so excursive, to refresh our minds with "The Life and Times of General Washington," forming part of the Family Library; or with "The Historical Conversations on Malta and Poland," by Mrs. Markham; or with Mr. F. Coghlan's *Guide to the Rhine*; or with the *Magazine of Health*, or the *Magazine of Botany*. Glad, too, should we be to recreate both mind and eyes together with Beattie's *Views of Switzerland*, or Winkle's *Illustrations of the British and Foreign Cathedrals*. But, alas, we have duller and sterner work before us.

Master-Pieces of English Prose Composition. Vol. I. Select Prose Works of Milton. Edited by J. H. St. John.

WE are here presented with the first number of a series, which is to contain "*the master-pieces of English Prose Literature*." The design in general appears to us happier than this commencement of the execution. With all our admiration of Milton,—an admiration which extends to the sterling and solid materials of his character, as well as to the majesty of his poetical genius, and which recognizes the strength of thought, and richness of diction, which are conspicuous in all his writings,—we have never been enabled to look upon his prose works as altogether the safest and most useful models, either in matter or in manner, in sentiment or in expression. The present volume is heralded by a kind of propitiatory dedication to the public, an address, and a preliminary discourse. Mr. J. A. St. John is the author of the last, as he probably is likewise of the two former. He writes with energy, and sometimes with eloquence, but with a sad want of prudence and discrimination. We suppose, however, that Mr. St. John is yet young: and we trust that, as he grows older, he will become more sober. The notes, we should add, display care and scholarship.

The Analogy of Faith. By Dr. Holloway.

WE can have no wish to speak harshly of a zealous and conscientious minister of the Gospel of Christ. But this volume is sent to us, like many others, for our opinion, and that opinion we must give. Dr. Holloway, then, appears to

us, from this production, a writer inconsequential in his reasoning, partial in his statements of Scripture, and narrow-minded, if not unsound, in his views of Christian doctrine. Many particulars of the analogy which he attempts to make out are altogether fanciful and far-fetched; and if we preserve silence upon his dogmatic allegations concerning election and grace as developed in the introduction, we are silent out of compassion. Why must Dr. Holloway talk of the Professor, who cannot agree with him, as "exhibiting in himself, by his self-righteousness, ignorance, and pride, a *frightful caricature of primeval Christianity?*"

1. *Churton's Illustrated Bible, with Notes.* By the Rev. Hobart Caunter.

2. *The Pictorial Bible.* C. Knight, 22, Ludgate Street.

THESE two undertakings are on a plan somewhat similar. We were happy to receive both works, for it is hardly possible to have two many editions of the Bible. The notes to the "*Illustrated Bible*," published by Mr. Churton, seem at least equal to the notes in the other, both in number and value. But, as to the rest, as to convenience of size, and shape, and type, as to the subjects and execution of the engravings, we must say, that the "*Pictorial Bible*" bears away the palm. At the same time we entirely dislike, as sure to be ultimately prejudicial to the highest interests of literature, the unfair competition now set up against individual writers and publishers by some large society, which *adopts*—to use the softest word—plans likely to be successful, instead of originating and completing any thing, which would not otherwise be done or attempted. Not even slight improvements are always made: and, at best, *facile est inventis addere*. The editor, we see, of the "*Illustrative Bible*" is the Rev. Hobart Caunter, to whom, we believe, we are also indebted for some very interesting tales, part of the series called the *Romance of History*.

RELIGIOUS POETRY.

How any man, in this utilitarian, this rail-road, this steam-engine, this truly iron age, can have heart to write poetry, is a matter which quite passes our comprehension. Yet, here are lying before us, "*St. John at Patmos*," by the Rev. W. L. Bowles;—a volume by Mr. Dale;—neither of these productions, however, being quite new;—"The *Songs of the Colonna*;"—"The *Polish Harp*," by Jacob Jones;—"Burt's Christianity," with notes—the verse, in fact, being more prosaic than the prose, and the notes being the best part of the poem,—with a variety of other effusions. Mr. Dale and Mr. Bowles we purposely reserve in common justice to themselves: for their sweet, and devotional, and gentle strains could have little chance, we fear, of a fair hearing in this hour of turbulent polemics;—when men would rather listen to the wildest and most unpopular project on a political question, than steep their senses and their thoughts in a delicious forgetfulness by the spells of a charmed imagination. There is one only production

at all bordering upon the realms of poesy, which we feel it incumbent upon us not to pass altogether *sub silentio*: It is called "*The Murdered Protestant Pastor*," by the Author of "*Rose-buds rescued, and presented to my Children*."

This poem, which has very lately been forwarded to us, is ushered in by the following brief introduction:—

"The following stanzas, written in the rapid haste of a monthly periodical publication, lay no claim to the title of poetry. They were thrown off, and are printed, only with reference to some particulars connected with the solemn question of Protestantism in Ireland."

Whether it be wise to "*throw off, in rapid haste*," upon such a subject, and with such a title, verses, which of course mingle fiction with truth, and would heighten terrible realities by poetical embellishments and exaggerations, we leave to the consideration of Mr. Wilks, as one of the Secretaries to the Subscription for the Relief of the Irish Clergy. Our only reason for noticing this slight republication at all, is the circumstance, that we may be thought to have dealt rather harshly with the volume intituled "*Rose-buds rescued*;" albeit we did little more than make merry with the name; feeling, at the same time, that Mr. Wilks had a full right, as both father and godfather, to call his intellectual bantling by whatever appellation he chose, and that we certainly had no wish to rebaptize it. "*The Murdered Protestant Martyr*" is, on the whole, though not quite Homeric or Miltonic, an improvement on "*The Rose-buds*," in vigour of thought and correctness of versification. That we may not be deemed unfair in our extracts, or our criticism, we subjoin at once the three stanzas, with which the poem opens, and the lyrical effusion with which it concludes.

"I saw him once—he was a reverend man—
 'Twas the last morn of his oft-clouded life:
 His casement oped as day its course began:
 The hour was calm; but lawless feuds were rife,
 And dawn and night-fall told of bloody strife.
 Again the lattice closed: he bent the knee
 As was his daily wont; nor child nor wife
 E'er broke that hour, which Heaven alone might see,
 To prayer and praise devote, and hallowed mystery.

But all could mark how calm his footstep trod,
 As forth he paced to quaff the balmy air;
 Like one who, rapt, had communed with his God,
 And smiling left remote all earthly care.
 Nor did he scorn his matin joy to share
 With his bold boyish playmates; or refuse,
 With gentle Rose, and Emily, and Clare,
 To tend the floret chilled by nightly dews;
 Or list to woodland song, and glow with Nature's hues

He was a heretic; for wedded priest
 Stains not *true church*, that teaches, better *far*
 Were lawless vice, than ring, and nuptial feast,
 And children cradled in *anathema*.
 And I must cross myself, and seek the bar
 Of holy confessor, to shrive the crime,
 That I with kindly words my strain did mar
 Of heretic, and deemed his prayer sublime,
 Or thought that bells unblest with hallowed sounds could chime."

"Blest Lord of the harvest, Protector Divine,
 List, list to the voice of our weeping!
 Thy dew-drops are soft, and thy sun-beam doth shine:
 Then, oh! why so thorny the reaping?
 And Thine is the seed: but the stern flinty rock
 Recoils from man's impotent toiling;
 And each winged marauder his labour doth mock,
 The newly-sown germ-bed spoiling.
 But see! the storm ceases; the sky is serene!
 Heaven hath listed the voice of our craving:
 Up-ploughed is the soil, and the meadows are green,
 And the bright golden crop is waving.
 Yes, Erin! thou nursling of error and feud,
 Though dark and long fitful thy story,
 To the meek Prince of Peace shall thy vales be subdued,
 And beam forth Millennial glory."

Dr. Dickinson's *Vindication of a Memorial respecting Church Property in Ireland*, has arrived—together with some other works—too late: or we would have given it our best and most impartial consideration. A friend has forwarded to us "*The Catholicon*,"—a Romanist periodical of no mean ability. We see from it that the Papists have lately set up a new weekly newspaper, called *The Mediator*, and *British Catholic Advocate*; and that there is on the eve of appearing the first number of a *quarterly publication*, entitled *The Dublin Review*, under the auspices of Daniel O'Connell, N. Wiseman, D.D., and Michael J. Quin. All things assure us that both *vigour and discretion* are needed on the side of Protestants.

ELUCIDATIONS

OF

DR. HAMPDEN'S

THEOLOGICAL STATEMENTS.



OXFORD,

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1836.



ELUCIDATIONS,

&c.

It may be fairly asked of any resident of this place, who at this time directs attention to Dr. Hampden's works, why he has not done so in the considerable interval which has elapsed since their publication. The present writer's plain answer to this demand would be, that he had hoped to have been spared the necessity of an invidious task which pertained more to others than to himself; to those who were less connected by College ties with the Author in question. He felt that he had no call of office or station that way, and that he could not put himself forward without an apology for so doing. Even now he cannot persuade himself to put his name in the title-page, though he makes no secret of it to those who choose to enquire.

At the present juncture, many persons are asking each other, and trying to determine for themselves, what the theological views of Dr. Hampden precisely are. It is much to be regretted they did not turn their thoughts to this matter sooner, especially considering the call made on them last Spring to do so.

The omission, however, must be attributed, in addition to other causes, to the particular form and character of his Lectures, and the condensed and abstract style which their extent of subject may have rendered necessary.

The consideration of these peculiarities has given rise to the following pages, in which it is not attempted to contravene any of Dr. Hampden's positions, but to exhibit them, as far as he has stated them, and that with as much fairness as may be attainable by one who has his own opinion about them. This attempt may perchance assist the judgments of those who are in doubt as to his doctrines, and may explain the earnestness of those who condemn them.

1. *Concerning Doctrinal Truths.*

HERE first it is necessary to explain Dr. H.'s views concerning Theological Statements.

He considers that the only belief necessary for a Christian, as such, is belief that the Scripture is the word of God; that no statement whatever, even though correctly deduced from the text of Scripture, is part of the revelation; that no right conclusions about theological truth can be drawn from Scripture; that Scripture itself is a mere record of historical facts; that it contains no dogmatic statements, such as those about the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, Justification, &c.; that theological statements, though natural and unavoidable, are in all cases but human opinions; that even the juxtaposition of the actual sentences of Scripture, is a human deduction; that an individual is not abstractedly the worse for being a Unitarian; that it does not follow that another is worse because I should be worse for being so; that, though a deduction be correct, logical, and true, yet a denial of it must not be pronounced to be more than an error of judgment; that infinite theories may be formed about the text of Scripture, but that they ought not to be made of public importance to Christian communities, badges of fellowship, reasons for separation, and the like; that the Articles of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are merely human opinions, scholastic, allowing of change,

unwarrantable when imposed, and, in fact, the produce of a mistaken philosophy; and that the Apostles' Creed is defensible only when considered as a record of historical facts.

“1. Whilst we agree in the canon of Scripture, in the very words for the most part from which we learn what are the objects of faith, we suffer disunion to spread among us, through the various interpretations suggested by our own reasonings on the admitted facts of Scripture. We introduce theories of the Divine Being and attributes, theories of human nature and of the universe, principles drawn from the various branches of human philosophy, into the body itself of revealed wisdom.”—Observ. p. 7.

“In religion, properly so called, few Christians, if any—I speak of course of pious minds—really differ. All acknowledge with nearly unanimous assent, I believe, the great original facts of the Bible. . . . When I look at the reception by the Unitarians both of the Old and New Testament, I cannot, for my part, strongly as I dislike their theology, deny to those who acknowledge this basis of divine facts the name of Christians.”—Observ. p. 19.

“No conclusions of human reasoning, however correctly deduced, however logically sound, are properly religious truths, or such as strictly and necessarily belong to human salvation through Christ.”—Observ. p. 8.

“Pious opinions, it must be observed, are not parts of revelation.”—Observ. p. 14.

“2. The whole revelation contained in them [our Scriptures], so far as it is revelation, consists of *matter of fact*.”—Observ. p. 13.

“I do not mean that no right conclusions whatever result from the truths of Scripture: but I confine the assertion to intellectual, or speculative, or theological truth, as distinct from moral.”—Observ. p. 12.

“ I shall only briefly touch here on a fundamental characteristic of the Christian Scriptures, which totally precludes all deduction of speculative conclusions concerning religious truth.”—Observ. p. 13.

“ Strictly to speak, in the Scripture itself there are no doctrines. What we read there is matter of fact: either fact nakedly set forth as it occurred, or fact explained and elucidated by the light of inspiration cast upon it. . . . If any part of Scripture contains *doctrinal* statements, it will at any rate be supposed to be the epistolary. But even this part, if accurately considered, will not be found an exception. . . . Let the inveterate idea that the Epistles are the doctrinal portion of Scripture, be for awhile banished from the mind; . . . for my part, I cannot doubt but that the decision will be in favour of the *practical* character of them. The speculating theologian will perhaps answer by adducing text after text from an Epistle, in which he will contend that some dogmatic truth . . . is asserted. But “ what is the chaff to the wheat ? ” I appeal, from the logical criticism of the Apostle’s words to their apostolical spirit, from Paul philosophizing to Paul preaching, and entreating, and persuading. And I ask, whether it is likely that an Apostle would have adopted the form of an epistolary communication for imparting mysterious propositions to disciples with whom he enjoyed the opportunity of personal intercourse; and to whom he had already “ declared the whole counsel of God ; ” whether in preaching Christ he would have used a method of communicating truth, which implies some scientific application of language, an analysis at least of propositions into their terms, in order to its being rightly understood ? ” B. L. p. 374.

“ Pious opinions, indeed, we may form; it is hardly possible practically to avoid exercising the mind in reasoning and speculating on the given truths of Scripture. Such indeed are the doctrinal statements of our Articles. I may wish there were

less of dogmatism in them. Still I cannot but approve them for the piety that pervades them.”—*Observ.* p. 14.

“There can be no rational doubt that man is in a degraded disadvantageous condition, that Jesus Christ came into the world in the mercy of God to produce a restoration of man, that He brought life and immortality to light by His coming, that He died on the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification, that the Holy Ghost came by his promise to abide with His Church, miraculously assisting the Apostles in the first institution of it, and ever since that period interceding with the hearts of believers. These and other truths connected with them are not collected merely from *texts* or *sentences* of Scripture, they are parts of its records. Infinite theories” [that is, it would appear, such as the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, &c.] “may be raised upon them; but these theories, whether true or false, leave the facts where they were.”—*B. L.* p. 390.

3. “Dogmas of Theology then, *as such*, are human authorities. But do I mean to say by this, that they are unimportant to religion, or that they are essentially wrong, foreign to true religion, and inconsistent with it? I wish rather to establish their importance and proper truth, as distinct from the honour and verity of the simple Divine Word.”—*B. L.* p. 375.

4. “The collection itself of scriptural expressions into one body of statement amounts to a human exposition of the doctrine. An artificial construction is given to them, which they have not in the Scripture itself,” &c.—*Observ.* p. 10.

5. “Other communions are not necessarily in error or heresy, because we hold them to be so; but viewing their opinions as erroneous, we must guard against them, as feeling that we should ourselves be heretical and profane, if we should change and adopt such opinions. For example, as believers in a real Atonement for sin, &c. Thus again to a Trinitarian, &c.”—*Vide infra.* *Observ.* p. 26.

6. "Opinions on religious matters are regarded as identical with the objects of faith; and the zeal which belongs to dissentients in the latter, is transferred to the guiltless differences of fallible judgments."—Observ. p. 7.

7. "In truth, I say, it [theological opinion] ought not to exist. Theological opinion, as necessarily mixed up with speculative knowledge, ought not to be the bond of union of any Christian society, or a mark of discrimination between Christian and Christian."—Observ. p. 21.

"If I can establish this point [that no conclusions of human reasoning, however correctly deduced, are properly religious truths, &c. *vid. supra*], it will be seen in great measure how far a conscientious and zealous earnestness for "the faith once delivered to the saints" justifies our sectarian animosities and our party exclusions."—Observ. p. 18.

8. "If it be admitted that the notions on which their [the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds'] several expressions are founded, are both unphilosophical and unscriptural; it must be remembered, that they do not impress those notions on the faith of the Christian, as matters of affirmative belief. They only use the terms of ancient theories of philosophy, theories current in the schools at the time when they were written, to exclude others *more obviously* (sic) injurious to the simplicity of the Faith."—B. L. p. 378.

"I do not presume to say that alteration is actually required. I am merely addressing myself to the general question, as to the capacity of improvement in Church Creeds and Articles, with the view of suggesting a right theory of the subject. To deny the essential variableness of such documents, is to admit an human authority to a parity with the authority of Inspiration."—B. L. p. 381.

"The Apostles' Creed states nothing but facts. The transition is immense from this to the scholastic speculations involved in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. Both these last, indeed, are logical definitions of the high subject of

which they treat, differing from each other only in point of comprehensiveness and exactness."—B. L. p. 544.

"We then proceed to contend for these unrevealed representations of the wisdom of God, as if it were that very wisdom as it stands forth confessed in His own living oracles. 'The wisdom that is from above' is at once 'pure' and 'gentle.' Surely it has no resemblance to that dogmatical and sententious wisdom which theological controversy has created."—Observ. p. 8.

Remarks on the above.

ARTICLE VI. "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ; so that whatsoever is not read therein, *nor may be proved thereby*, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought *requisite or necessary to salvation*." On the other hand, Dr. H. says, "*No conclusions of human reasoning*, however correctly deduced, . . . are properly religious truths, or such as strictly and necessarily *belong to human salvation through Christ*."

On this Dr. H. observes, that "it by no means follows, that what can be *proved out of Scripture* must *therefore* be truth of revelation."

He accounts for the clause in the Article, by alleging the intention of our Reformers thereby to prevent "the inroads of tradition or any human authority."

He then urges against himself the objection, that "a truth of Scripture cannot be stated otherwise than in the form of a *conclusion* from Scripture." He replies, that though it be expressed in Scripture language,

it is still a human exposition of the doctrine, and that he thinks the employing technical terms preferable to employing terms of Scripture. Vid. Observ. p. 8—10.

So far Dr. H. brings forward and disposes of objections to his doctrine. But there is still a desideratum in his statement. Language such as he has used, is frequent in the mouths of Socinians and others. These religionists urge, after his manner, that all doctrine is matter of opinion, varying according to the character of individual minds. We wait for him then to complete his view, and to draw the line between himself and them, lest Churchmen perchance who listen to him, turn Socinians before he is aware of their danger. He says, that it is a matter of opinion, whether a man believe in the Divinity of Christ or not. Now, supposing hearers of his were to take up with Socinianism, would he be *earnest* in reclaiming them or not? If he was earnest, which one should expect, would not this imply that he *did* think it a difference whether or not a man were a Socinian; and would he not, in the present imperfect development of his views, expose himself to the retort, “Trinitarianism, belief in the Atonement, &c., are necessary for you, but not for us: do not judge us, we can be humble-minded without them, we believe the facts of Scripture,” &c.? This is not here urged as an *objection* to his views, which are not sufficiently brought out to enable us formally to judge of them on this point, but by way of comparing them with those of others “whose theology he strongly dislikes,” and showing our claim on him for an *explanation*. A particular theory is common

to him and certain Socinians ; *where* and *how* does he part company with them ?

With a view of illustrating this point, it may be well to quote the words of one who, starting from the very theory maintained by Dr. Hampden, has recently become a convert to Socinianism. Had the writer of these pages that author's works at hand, he might quote still more apposite passages.

“ You must frequently have observed the hopelessness of the attempts which are constantly made to establish various points of Christian doctrine by logical arguments, founded on detached texts of Scripture. You must have seen regular collections of passages, selected with the utmost patience, and arranged into classes with the greatest ingenuity. Most works on controversial divinity are attempts of this kind to draw some abstract proposition as the unquestionable result of the various expressions of Scripture upon the given subject. You cannot but have observed, moreover, how short all such attempts fall of the intended object,” &c.—*Mr. Blanco White on Heresy.*

“ As we cannot approach the objective truth of such convictions [*i. e.* of things beyond the reach of our senses] beyond or out of our intellect, all our moral duties to truth, (where moral duties are concerned, as is the case with religious truths,) are due to the only truth we can reach, *i. e.* the conviction of our own minds. But it is here that the fatal mistake takes place. The pride of the religious enthusiast takes up his subjective truth as the divine objective truth itself. On other subjects, if contradiction made him angry and impatient, he would be more or less ashamed of showing it. Not so in the present case. He indulges his most violent passions under the character of zeal for God and His truth ; his natural desire of ruling over others appears in

the shape of a vehement concern in the preservation of the assent of the mass of the people to the orthodox, i. e. his own opinions. Because he is sure he is right, he positively denies that those who contradict him *can be* sure they are right, &c.”—*Mr. Blanco White, Law of Libel.*

Or take again the parallel words of Hoadley, who died indeed in the communion, nay, in the high places, of our Church, yet on the present Bishop of London’s authority^a, must be considered a Socinian.

“ Though many persons may mistake in their different apprehensions concerning the sense of these words,” [those in which the faith was once delivered,] “ yet we may be sure, whilst we retain these words, that we retain what *God himself has seen fit should be delivered* and transmitted to us as the best conveyance, all things considered, of the faith required of us. This I mean particularly with regard to those articles of belief which are properly Christian. . . . By contending for the faith as it was once delivered to the saints in the New Testament, we shall only press upon men the *receiving what it has pleased God to deliver*, but shall avoid a great evil of enforcing upon them the *consequences* which we ourselves see, or think we see, to follow from the doctrines first delivered. . . . The just consequences from any truth are certainly equally true with that truth from which they follow; and it is as certain that to him who sees them to follow, or thinks he sees them, they are as truths, and may justly be maintained as such. But they are not so to others who see them not in the same light. Nor can they be made necessary to be believed by others, till those others themselves discover their relation to the primitive truths of Religion.”—*Sermon on Contending for the Faith, vol. iii: p. 714.*

^a Answer to Butler, p. 31.

2. *Doctrine of the Trinity.*

As to the doctrine of the Trinity, Dr. H. holds that Scripture contains certain phenomena concerning the dealings of the Supreme Being with man, which, when compared together, are remarkable and startling, and irresistibly force upon the mind that there is *some* mystery in the divine nature ; but what that mystery is, or that it is the very mystery which the catholic doctrine of the Trinity expresses, is, he considers, not revealed. The catholic doctrine is one out of the infinite theories which may be raised upon the facts of Scripture, and the Athanasian Creed is in its origin the view of a party in the church. Again: it is not scriptural or necessary to insist upon the numerical or real unity of the Supreme Being ; since He is not revealed as one in Himself, but as one contrasted with the gods of polytheism. On the whole, that it is an abuse of Scripture to attempt thus to deduce a theology at all, i. e. a knowledge of God in respect of His nature, attributes, &c.

1. “ One fact is clear through all this labyrinth of variations which theological creeds have exhibited ; that there is some extraordinary communication concerning the Divine Being, in those Scriptural notices of God, which have called forth the curiosity of thinking men in all ages. To me it matters little what opinion on the subject has been prior, has been advocated by the shrewdest wit or deepest learning, has been most popular, most extensive in its reception. All differences

of this kind belong to the history of the human mind, as much as to theology, and affect not the broad basement of fact on which the manifold forms of speculation have taken their rise. The only ancient, only catholic truth is the scriptural fact. Let us hold that fast in its depth and breadth . . . and we can neither be Sabellians, or Tritheists, or Socinians.”—B. L. p. 149.

“Historically regarded, they [Dr. H.’s discussions] evidence the reality of those sacred facts of Divine Providence, which we comprehensively denote by the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity. But let us not identify this reality with the theories couched under a logical phraseology. I firmly and devoutly believe that word, which has declared the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. But who can pretend to that exactness of thought on the subject, on which our technical language is based?”—B. L. p. 150.

2. “When I look at the reception by the Unitarians both of the Old and New Testament, I cannot, for my part, strongly as I dislike their theology, deny to those who acknowledge this basis of divine facts, the name of Christians.”—*Observ.* p. 20.

“Thus, again, to the Trinitarian, the consequences of rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity must consistently be regarded as dangerous. But he has no right to extend his anathema beyond himself to one who has unhappily not embraced the same view of Scripture truth.”—*Observ.* p. 27.

3. “It appears to me that the silence respecting the individual author” [of the Athanasian Creed] “was designed, or at least his name was forgotten, in the wish to give a higher authority to the document; and that its reception by us in its present form . . . is an evidence of the triumph of a party in the Church, thus declaring their authoritative judgment under the sanction of a name, which expressed in itself every thing hostile to Arianism.”—B. L. p. 105.

4. “No one can be more convinced than I am, that there is a

real mystery of God revealed in the Christian dispensation ; and that no scheme of Unitarianism can solve the whole of the phenomena which Scripture records. But I am also as fully sensible, that there is a mystery attached to the subject, which is not a mystery of God. Take, for instance, the notion of the Divine Unity. We are apt to conceive that the Unity must be understood numerically ; that we may reason from the notion of Unity to the properties of the Divine Being. But is this a just notion of the Unity of God? Surely the revelation of the Divine Unity was not meant to convey to Israel any speculative notion of the oneness of the Deity, but practically to influence their minds in regard to the superstitions from which they had been brought out. . . . Now were this view of the revelation of the Divine Unity strictly maintained, would it not greatly abate the repugnance often felt at the admission of a Trinity in Unity? To deny a Trinity would then be felt the same as to assert that, because polytheism was false, therefore no new manifestation of God, not resulting from the negation of polytheism, can be true.”—B. L. p. 146.

5. “To the Christian speculator, under such a method” [the scholastic], “these principles would of course be sought nowhere else but in the Divine Being himself . . . His nature and attributes, so far as they were explained by the light of reason or revealed by the illumination of Scripture, would alone present to the inquirer that immobility and eternity, and absolute priority of truth, of which he was in quest.”—B. L. p. 78.

“Its [the scholastic system’s] principles . . . were to be drawn from the nature of the Divine Being, as the only sure ground on which a divine and universal philosophy could fix its first steps.”—B. L. p. 79.

“If now we regard the Scriptures in the way of the Schoolmen, as having God for their proper subject, instead of reading them as a divine history of man, we naturally neglect the analogies of time and circumstances. The immutability

of the Divine Being, in the contemplation of whom we are then exclusively engaged, is the prevailing object of our inquiry. Our business is to collect into one theory every scattered intimation of the Divine Being and attributes. If, on the contrary, we take the nature and condition of man under Divine Providence as the great subject of our sacred books, we are as naturally led to study the facts recorded in the Scripture in their real historical place," &c.—B. L. p. 89.

"Eager to erect their theology into a philosophy of the Divine Being, they were comparatively indifferent to the humbler truths which lay in the walk of man's every-day life."—B. L. p. 93.

"The scholastic philosophy had for its basis a theoretic knowledge of the Divine Being; a knowledge of God as the highest cause of all things, the primary being in the order of the universe." [It is added in a note,] "Thus, too, not only in the decrees of the Council of Trent, but in our own Articles, the doctrines on this head occupy the first place . . . The Fathers of the Church of England, even in shaking off the spiritual bonds of Rome, were tacitly influenced by the discipline in which their minds had been trained."—B. L. p. 99.

Remarks on the above.

It will be seen from the foregoing passages that Dr. H. considers the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by himself, to be but one out of the infinite theories which might be formed from the facts of the Scripture revelation. Now it is not here denied that men of subtle minds may be able to combine this scepticism of the intellect with devotion of the heart to the Ever-Blessed Trinity; but will men of common understand-

ings, if provided with no explanation or limitation of this view, be able to say in faith, “ O Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity, three Persons, one God, have mercy, &c ?” or “ To whom [Christ] with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be &c ?” or “ Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith ; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly : *and the Catholic Faith is this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity ?*” Here then we demand some *explanation* for the sake of Dr. H.’s hearers and readers.

Let it not be thought invidious, if recourse is again had to the writings of professed Socinians, by way of illustrating the unguarded nature of Dr. H.’s statements. It is not at all hereby insinuated that he himself agrees with them in their peculiar errors ; but it is necessary that a Christian University should have some safeguard against Socinians sheltering themselves behind, and using the authority of, Dr. H., which in the present state of his published teaching they might well do, were they inclined,—a safeguard, on the other hand, lest unlearned hearers, unintentionally, and from the fulness of their confidence in Dr. H., find themselves precipitated into the depths of that heresy which Antiquity calls “ a god-denying apostasy.”

The author already quoted, in a work published before he discovered his own Socinianism, introduces a pattern character speaking thus on his death-bed. “ I believe in God the Creator of this world as my Father. I believe his *moral character* (for in regard to

his relations to man I cannot find a better expression) to be that which Jesus Christ his *Son in the sublimest sense*, has revealed to the world. I also believe in his 'Spirit' which helpeth our infirmities; for 'it is God who worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure;' not to save us from working, but to aid us in working out our salvation with fear and trembling." *Second Travels of Irish Gentleman*, vol. ii. p. 206.

This author has since confessed, that at the time of writing this he was really a Unitarian or Socinian, though he had not yet brought home the fact to himself. Now, on recurring to the extract above quoted, p. 8, beginning, "There can be no rational doubt," &c., is it not plain that we have a right to demand from Dr. H. some line of separation between him and the above-cited author*? The quotations from Dr. Hampden, under the following head, give additional reason for this demand.

* The clause "died on the cross for our sins," &c. will be noticed presently.

3. *Doctrine of the Incarnation.*

Dr. Hampden conceives, that the orthodox doctrine on this subject is grounded on a confused philosophy ; that a chief excellence of that particular theory lies in its consistency ; on the other hand, that the Unitarian is as dogmatic as the orthodox believer ; that in this lies his essential fault ; that, as such, he is morally wrong, not in that he holds Christ to be a mere man, but because he makes any opinion at all on the subject a reason of separation.

“ The discussions on the Incarnation were, in like manner, partly physical, partly logical. It was attempted, to be explained, in what way the Son might be said to be generated of the Father ; whether out of the substance of God, or out of a common divinity, of which each participates, or by division of the Paternal substance, as a portion severed from the Father ; whether further, He is the Son of God by nature, or necessity, or will, or predestination, or adoption. The confusion of principles of different sciences in these promiscuous inquiries is sufficiently apparent. But it was by such a philosophy that the orthodox language was settled, declaring the Son begotten, before all worlds, of *one substance* (sic) with the Father.”—B. L. p. 137.

“ The excellence of the orthodox theory, we may observe, consisted in its excluding from that definition all ideas imported from the physical speculations, and reducing it to perfect consistency with the original theory of the Divine Procession. It brought the inquirer back to the point from which he set out, to acknowledge the simple divine personality

of the Saviour, that he was the Word made flesh."—B. L. p. 139.

"In the theory of the Incarnation, certain distinctions in Christ were the data; and the problem was to find a common idea in which they should agree."—B. L. p. 479.

"I would take the extreme case of the Unitarians: I would say to them; Why do you take so much pains to convince the world, that you do not agree with the mass of professing Christians in believing in the same sense, "one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God, and Father of all? Is it not, that you identify your religion with your dogmas, that you transfer the natural partiality of your own minds for certain principles to the broad outlines of Scripture truth, and dissent from your brethren in the faith, because they will not assent to your metaphysical conclusions? For when I look at the reception by the Unitarians, both of the Old and New Testament, I cannot, for my part, strongly as I dislike their theology, deny to those, who acknowledge this basis of divine facts, the name of Christians. I allude to the case of the Unitarian more particularly, because in the ordinary view, he is regarded as more liberal, as less exclusive in his creed, than members of other Christian communions. And I wish it to be considered whether he is not, on the other hand, as dogmatic as any other religionist; perhaps the most so of all, so far as he insists, beyond all others, on applying a positive sense to passages and expressions, which revelation leaves in the darkness of the clouds surrounding the Divine Presence. Putting him, however, on the same footing precisely of earnest religious zeal and love for the Lord Jesus Christ, on which I should place any other Christian, I propose to him impartially to weigh with himself, whether it is not *theological dogmatism*, and not *religious belief* properly so called, which constitutes the principle of his dissent. But I am not intending to condemn him more than other Christians, on this ground; I select his case, by way of illustration, as an extreme one."

The principle itself is the common fault of us all. In all communions it works its mischief; and without accusing individuals, I propose only to accuse the principle itself, the confusion of theological conclusions and opinions with religion; with a view to its correction by us all."—*Observ. p. 19.*

4. *Doctrine of the Atonement.*

Dr. Hampden considers that the term Atonement, in its true practical sense, expresses a certain phenomenon in human nature, viz. that it cannot be at peace without the consciousness of Atonement made for its sins; that to this phenomenon of our nature's remorse at its own sin, Scripture opposes a parallel fact, the perfect righteousness of Christ, which it connects with our unrighteousness, and hence Christ is emphatically called our Atonement; that Atonement in a wider sense expresses the general law of Divine Providence under which this instance of God sending His Son falls, which is also called Mediation; but that in Scripture it means nothing but the simple history of Christ's mercy, and we must not theorize upon it; that it does not imply any changing of God's purpose towards man in consequence; that it was converted by Scholasticism into the philosophy of expiation, which depressed the mind, or into a theory of commutation; that it is a real Atonement; that we must not suppose that another may not be humbleminded who disbelieves it, merely because such would be our case.—Perhaps it is impossible to do justice to Dr. Hampden's meaning under this head in any words but his own.

“ In collecting the truth from observations on the natural world, our business is to search and hunt out *what is the fact*, (sic) . . . but in learning the truth of God from

Scripture, we have the facts laid before us; they are entirely out of the reach of our investigation, and are at once by the word of the Spirit mercifully stated to us, in forms of expression calculated to impress them on our hearts, and enforce them on our belief and conduct. For instance, the great fact that God sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world that the world by him should be saved, what powers of investigation, however clear sighted or however lofty, could ever have discovered? Reason may surmise the truth, so far as it is included in a general law of Divine Providence, expressed under the term mediation or atonement, of which it is a transcendent instance. But this is not to reach the fact itself. The necessity, then, of the case clearly requires, that the facts of which our scriptural information consists shall be fully made known to us, so far as it is necessary for us to *know* them, by the page itself of Scripture. This evidently is that blessing of Christianity to the poor. It appeals to no philosophical powers for the estimate of its simple facts," &c.—*Observ.* p. 17.

"It is to be remarked, however, how strongly the inefficacy of repentance to wipe away guilt, and restore the sinner to his lost state, has impressed the minds of those who have thought on human nature with any depth of philosophy. It is of little purpose to urge the natural placability of the Divine Being, his mercy, his willingness to receive the penitent. God no doubt is abundantly placable, merciful, and forgiving; still the fact remains. The heart seeks for reparation and satisfaction; its longings are that its sins may be no more remembered, that the characters in which it is written may be blotted out. Hence the congeniality to its feelings of the notion of atonement. The fact is, that we cannot be at peace without some consciousness of atonement made. The word atonement, in its true practical sense, expresses this indisputable fact. . . . This material and invincible difficulty of the case, the Scripture revelation has met with a parallel fact.

It has said, we have no hope in ourselves; that looking to ourselves we cannot expect happiness; and at the same time has fixed our attention on a Holy One, who did no sin, whose perfect righteousness it has connected with our unrighteousness, and whose strength it has brought to the evil of our weakness. Thus Christ is emphatically said to be our atonement; not that we may attribute to God any change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done, but that *we may know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our *own hearts* may not condemn us.”—B. L. p. 251.

“The bane of this philosophy of expiation was, not that it exalted human agency too highly, but that in reality it depressed the power of man too low. The ecclesiastical power stood between the heart and heaven; atonement was converted into a theory of commutation,” &c.—B. L. p. 253.

“Other communions are not necessarily in error or heresy, because we hold them to be so; but viewing their opinions as erroneous, we must guard against them, as feeling that we should ourselves be heretical and profane, if we should change and adopt such opinions. For example, as believers in a real Atonement for sin, we may justly feel shocked at the thought which imputes any merit to man, and regard, as a sinful pride in ourselves, the absence of that self-abasement in the sight of God, which is peculiarly impressed on us by this holy truth. But we must not conclude of another, who shuts out of his creed this cardinal doctrine, that he must therefore be proud and self-righteous; for, with all his heterodoxy of language, he *may* be more humble in spirit than many who are more dogmatically correct in their enunciation of the doctrine.”—Observ. p. 26.

Remarks on the above.

Article II. says, that Christ “truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to

us; and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for the actual sins of men." But Dr. H. says, "Christ is emphatically said to be our atonement, *not that we may attribute to God any change of purpose towards man* by what Christ has done; but that we *may know that we have passed from the death of sin to the life of righteousness by Him*, and that our own *hearts* may not condemn us." His view of Christ's sacrifice is, that, since we have by nature a keen sense of guilt, and will not believe that God loves us till we see some token of His love, He sent His Son into the world as such a token, to live and die as a man for our sakes; and this is a proof and pledge to us of His love, but nothing more. In no sense is His death revealed as an expiation made towards God the Father, an appeasing of His wrath, &c. Now, if this is Dr. H.'s meaning, I ask, *in what sense* does he understand the words of the Article above quoted? If according to their natural construction, then I ask, *in what sense* does he understand his own words which follow them? Dr. H.'s readers have a claim on him for an explanation.

But this is not all; for here again, by a great infelicity, Dr. H. has expressed himself after the manner of Socinus and his school. The extracts which follow from their writings are made, not for an instant with a view of implying that Dr. H. himself agrees with them, but to show that any one who did not know of his published assurances to the contrary, would have a right to consider that Dr. H. did agree with those misbelievers in a capital article of their misbelief.

Let us first turn to F. Socinus's Disputation De Jesu Christo Servatore, part i. ch. viii.

"We are then reconciled to God through Christ; God exhorting us, through him and his representatives the Apostles, to be willing to be reconciled to him, and offering us freely pardon of our sins: but not Christ making Him propitious towards us, and paying to Him our debts^a."

Vide also Crellius in answer to Grotius de Satisfactione Christi, cap. vii.^b

The following passage is from Slichtingius's comment on the Romans.

"*We are reconciled to God*; viz. by God Himself, who has reconciled us unto Himself, that is, has converted to Himself us who were in mind and works without any cause, nay, after the experience of numberless benefits, averse to Him; has altogether extinguished in our minds the hatred of Him; and instead has kindled a most fervent love for Him, by the death of His Son, viz. in the act of giving Him up to death for our sins, &c. . . . We see in this passage, [2 Cor. v. 19—21.] that Christ died not while God was angry and at enmity with the world, but the world with God; therefore the death of Christ did not effect the reconciliation of God to the world, but that of the world to God^c."

^a "Reconciliati igitur sumus Deo per Christum, Deo per ipsum, et per ejus vicarios Apostolos hortante, ut sibi reconciliari velimus, delictorumque veniam nobis ultro offerente: non autem Christo illum nobis placante, et illi debita nostra persolvente." Biblioth. Fratr. Polon. vol. ii, p. 138.

^b Ibid. vol. v. p. 146.

^c "*Reconciliati sumus Deo*. Nempe ab ipso Deo, qui nos sibi reconciliavit, id est animo et factis sine ullâ causâ à se aversos, imo innumeris beneficiis affectos, ad se convertit, odium sui in animis nostris penitus extinxit, amorem vero sui ardentissimum accendit per mortem Filii sui, dum scilicet illum in mortem pro peccatis nostris tradit, &c." . . . Videmus hic non

What makes this coincidence the more unfortunate is, that it is Dr. H.'s practice in writing, too frequently to omit any clear allusion to the *death* of Christ as our Redeemer even in such formal statements of doctrine as ought to contain it. *E. g.*

"[Scripture] has fixed our attention on a Holy One, who did no sin, whose perfect *righteousness* it has connected with our unrighteousness, and whose *strength* it has brought to the evil of our weakness."—B. L. p. 252.

Again :

"Take the truth simply, and what does it mean, but that God is infinitely just and merciful, visiting iniquities to the third and fourth generation, and yet showing mercy to thousands; that we cannot please Him by our works, or our sacrifices, or our prayers, but yet we can *do all things*, by Christ strengthening us, *working for us, offering Himself for us, praying for us.*"—B. L. p. 254.

Here is doubtless a much stronger wording than in the former extract, still it is a very guarded and reserved statement of the doctrine of the Atonement, as must be admitted. He uses many phrases, but the notion of Christ's cross, passion, death, or the like, does not occur. What can be the meaning of this? Is it done on purpose? Dr. H. is not here accused of this, but hearers and readers who do not know him, will be sure so to interpret his silence. What will be the effect of this upon others? Is it not

Deum mundo, sed mundum Deo fuisse infensum et inimicum cum Christus moreretur, proinde per mortem Christi non id esse actum, ut Deus mundo, sed ut mundus Deo reconciliaretur." Ibid. vol. vi. p. 201.

by such suppression on the part of teachers, that unbelief or half-belief is mainly propagated? Is not Locke claimed as a Socinian upon less grounds?

Again :

“There can be no rational doubt that man is in a degraded disadvantageous condition, that Jesus Christ came into the world in the mercy of God, to produce a restoration of man, that He brought life and immortality to light by His coming, *that He died on the cross for our sins, and rose again for our justification, &c.*”—B. L. p. 390.

Here is every thing we can desire, that is, *in our sense of the words*, for they are from Scripture ; but let it be observed, it is nothing more than what a Socinian would say, as admitting the canonical authority of St. Paul's Epistles. It will be asked, “What can one desire more?” Just thus much more ; proof which we may show to the whole world, not for our own satisfaction, that Dr. H. says something more than a Socinian ; proof that he attaches some definite sense to Scripture, and that that is the Church's sense. People at a distance cannot be the better for our private knowledge of him in Oxford.

Once more :

“The great fact, that God sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world, *that the world by Him should be saved*, what powers of investigation, however clear sighted, or however lofty, could ever have discovered? Reason may surmise the truth, so far as it is included in a general law of Divine Providence, expressed under the term Mediation or *Atonement*, of which it is a transcendent instance.”—Observ. p. 18.

This extract admits of several remarks. First, let it be observed, that the Atonement is called a *law* of Divine Providence, under which Christ's coming falls. Next, it is synonymous with *Mediation*. And further it is interpreted to be "God's sending His Son into the world, that the *world by Him should be saved*." Vague all of it, and in Scripture language. It is the kindest thing to say of such a passage, that it is very loosely and inaccurately worded. An unfair person, or a stranger, would not doubt of its accuracy, but impute a worse defect.

5. *The Sacraments.*

Dr. Hampden does not deny that a blessing is *connected* with the reception of the Sacraments, (whether as a condition, or an act of obedience, he does not explain;) but he denies that they are channels and instruments of Divine grace. What he chiefly opposes is, what is commonly called their mystical influence, i. e. a virtue parallel to physical efficiency in visible things, but belonging to an order of things, and directed by laws, about which we know nothing. He denies that the baptismal water is the medium in God's hand of cleansing the soul, considering the notion to have arisen from the belief in magic, prevalent in the first ages of the Church. He holds the same of the Holy Eucharist, and states the received doctrine to have been derived from the same source as that of the remaining five Sacraments adopted by the Church of Rome.

“ The theory of the Sacraments, on which I now enter, proceeds on the same view of human salvation. It is an account of the application of the Passion of Christ to the healing of the soul, a collection of remedial measures by which its languors and infirmities may be relieved and strengthened. The Incarnation of Christ is regarded as the primary efficient cause of health to the soul: dispensed by the several Sacraments as the instrumental and secondary causes. As the Incarnation itself was an union of the Divine Word with human nature, so the Sacraments, according to the theoretic view of the Scholastic philosophy, were mystical

unions of words with sensible things, by which the real presence of Christ was both signified and applied to the soul of man, the visible channels through which virtue was conveyed from Christ himself to his mystical body, the Church. . . . Theologians have not been content to rest on the simple fact of the Divine Ordinance, appointing certain external rites as essential parts of Divine Service on the part of man, available to the blessing of the receiver; but they have treated the Sacraments as effusions of the virtue of Christ, physically quickening and strengthening the soul, in a manner analogous to the invigoration of the body by salutary medicine.”—B. L. p. 311.

“The general belief in magic, in the early ages of the Church, may sufficiently account for the ready reception of such a theory of sacramental influence. The maxim of Augustine, “Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum,” appears to be in fact an adaptation of the popular belief respecting the power of incantations and charms to the subject of religion. The miracles themselves, indeed, of our Saviour were supposed to act in this manner, even by those who did not impute them to the agency of evil. His word or His touch was sought for by persons acknowledging in faith the reality of his mission. . . . Our Saviour, whose condescension was shown even to the prejudices of his faithful followers, often accompanied the working of his miracles with significant actions. In the instance of the woman, indeed, . . . He is described as having perceived that some one had touched Him, by the fact that *virtue* had gone out of Him; a mode of speaking, characteristic of the prevalent idea concerning the operation of Divine Influence, as of something passing from one body to another.”—B. L. p. 315.

“The definition, indeed, given in the Catechism of the Church of England, is exactly what the Scholastic theory suggests; so far, at least, as the language of it characterizes the nature of a sacrament. It is in the subsequent

application of this definition, that the Church of England has modified and improved on the fundamental idea of the Scholastic doctrine, whilst the idea itself is preserved, as being part of the very texture of technical theology.”—B. L. p. 313.

“It is a real and true presence which he [Ratramm] asserts; the virtue of Christ acting in the way of efficacious assistance to the receiver of the Sacrament. The Church of England doctrine of the Sacrament, it is well known, is founded on the views given by this author.”—B. L. p. 320.

Remarks on the above.

This head may be dismissed with the following quotations from our formularies.

ARTICLE XXV.—“Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses and *effectual* signs of grace and God’s good will towards us, *by the which he doth work invisibly in us*, and doth not only *quicken*, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.”

“*In such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation.*”

ARTICLE XXVIII.—“The body of Christ is *given, taken, and eaten* in the Supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner.”

BAPTISMAL SERVICE.—“Ye have brought this child here to be *baptized*. Ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive him, *to release him of his sins, to sanctify him with the Holy Ghost*, to give him the kingdom of heaven and everlasting life,” &c.

“Almighty, everliving God, whose most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, *did shed out of his most precious side both water and blood . . . sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.*”

CATECHISM.—"What are the *benefits* whereof we are partakers thereby [by the Lord's Supper]? The *strengthening and refreshing* of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, *as our bodies are by the bread and wine.*"

COMMUNION SERVICE.—"Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that *our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body*, and our souls washed through his most precious blood."

6. *Doctrine of Original Sin.*

The following is Dr. H.'s comment upon the 9th Article, the Latin text of which is here subjoined:—

“Peccatum originis non est (ut fabulantur Pelagiani) in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium, et depravatio naturæ, cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter, propagati: qua fit, ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet; ad malum suâ naturâ propendeat, et caro semper adversus spiritum concupiscat, unde in unoquoque nascentium iram Dei atque damnationem meretur.”

“Original Sin, accordingly, is always defined by the Schoolmen in negative terms, as a want of original justice, “carentia justitiæ originalis;” or an inordinateness of the desires; or, as in our 9th Article, a fault and depravation of nature, “vitium ac depravatio naturæ.” The last indeed is the most truly technical description of it; expressing, accurately, the peculiarity of the *theory*, on which the doctrinal statement of original sin has been founded.”

“This *theory* of the evil of the world involved also other theories of the same logical philosophy. . . . This occasioned the introduction of the term *propagation* into the account of the origin of evil. And the *theory*, as thus stated, would be the logical correspondent to the doctrine of grace. . . . The Pelagians, however, were not satisfied with this account of the matter. Admitting that evil existed in the world, and that the transgression of Adam had been injurious to his posterity, they still denied its transmission in the way of an hereditary

taint. . . . He [Pelagius] contended . . . that the first sin was hurtful to the human race not by propagation, but by example. . . . Though the language of the Pelagians did not adequately express the inveteracy of that sinfulness of human nature, which Scripture and the world declare with one voice; we must allow, I think, that their grounds were right, so far as they attempted to give a moral account of the fact; and that their opponents were wrong, so far as they attempted to give a physical or material account of it.—B. L. p. 221.

“It is probable then that Pelagius and Celestius intended only to oppose this *material theory*; and to explain the fact of human sinfulness, as I have said, on moral grounds. *In the fact itself, as appears, they did not differ from the orthodox: so far that they were acquitted of heresy both at Rome and at Jerusalem. But the acute logic of the African divines traced their explanations to the consequences; and their influence was interposed to maintain the uniformity of doctrine in the Church.*”—B. L. p. 230.

7. *Doctrine concerning the Soul.*

“This notion of the *separate existence of the soul* has so incorporated itself with Christian Theology, that we are apt at this day to regard a belief in it as essential to orthodox doctrine. Even in maintaining that such a belief is not essential to Christianity, I may incur the appearance of impugning a vital truth of religion. *I cannot however help viewing this popular belief as a remnant of scholasticism.* I feel assured that the truth of the Resurrection does not depend on such an assumption; that the life and immortality of man, as resting on Christ raised from the dead, is a certain fact in the course of Divine Providence; whatever may be the theories of the soul, and of its connexion with the body.”—B. L. p. 310.

8. *Doctrine of Morals.*

To enter into Dr. Hampden's view of Moral Philosophy would be beside the purpose of these pages, were it not that he introduces the subject into his Bampton Lectures. It may then be briefly observed, that he considers the science of morals to be in itself as independent of religion as physics; that it is conversant with certain laws of the human mind; that these rest ultimately upon *fact*; that a man may fulfil the moral law without religion; that religion has reference only to one part of our functions as men; that, if cultivated by itself, it will injuriously engross the whole man; that it is a comfort and enjoyment, but must not be made every thing; that it induces resignation, abstraction, indolence, and requires moral philosophy as its counterpoise.

“It will, I think, appear, that 'Theology and Ethics are entirely distinct in their nature; in the principles, I mean, on which they are based.'—B. L. p. 264.

“The term obligation is a religious one; introduced into morality by that peculiar connexion, which the speculative Theology of the Schools established, between religion and morality.”—B. L. p. 297.

“Morality then, it should be observed, is the science of our own internal nature. It ascertains all those principles by which we are actuated in our sentiments and conduct, and establishes the general law in which they all agree. Its office is throughout one of discovery.”—B. L. p. 299.

“So independent is the science of Ethics, of the support and the ennobling which it receives from religion, that it would be nothing strange or objectionable in a Revelation, were we to find embodied in its language much of the false Ethical Philosophy, which systems may have established.”—B. L. p. 302.

“Holiness, separation from the world, devotion, stillness of the thoughts and the affections, are the means of Religion: Ethics are all activity, all business. Neither will answer the purpose of the other: both are indispensable to the perfection and happiness of human nature.”—B. L. p. 302.

“We find Moral Philosophy among ourselves consigned rather to the pulpit than to the chair of the Professor. . . . It may be enough to refer to the Moral and Metaphysical discussions of Samuel Clarke, as contained in his Sermons at the Boyle Lecture, and to the Moral Philosophy of Butler, as delivered in his Sermons at the Rolls’ Chapel. It appears indeed, that Paley’s views of Moral Science were originally developed in the same form. A circumstance which has strengthened the prejudice against an independent Moral Philosophy is the fact that the great deistical writers of our country, as Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, set themselves to the proof of the independence of Ethics on Religion; whilst Cudworth and Clarke, and others have vindicated the intimate connexion between theological and ethical principles. . . . Both Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke have shown, and I think unanswerably, that the principles of morality are founded in our nature, independently of any system of religious belief, and are in fact obligatory even on the atheist.”—M. L. p. 15—18.

“I intend, in asserting the independence of moral obligation on any religious sanction, to refer, in evidence of this position, to the indisputable instances which have appeared of an upright tenor of life, of the duties belonging to the various relations of life, correctly performed by those, who have

wanted the higher inducements to right conduct, resulting from the profession of a better creed. . . . Many Christians are . . . virtuous on principles of mere morality, and not through Christian love and faith; for even the Atheist, extreme as his case is, may feel himself under some obligations of virtue, so far as he may perceive that virtue is his interest in the present world."—M. L. pp. 20—22.

"This opinion of the dependence of moral theory on religious truth is, in fact, a remnant of the philosophy of the Middle Ages."—M. L. p. 23.

"Some of the early Fathers of the Church have characterized Christianity in contrast with heathen systems as a 'philosophy of life.' . . . They might have seen that Christianity interferes not with the principles of human conduct, that its burthen and theme are *salvation* (sic), and not the mere art of happy living."—M. L. pp. 23—25.

"Another circumstance which has operated against the independent study of Moral Philosophy is the fact. . . . that Christian writers have not only thrown into the shade all mere moral excellence, by placing it in disadvantageous comparison with the principle of Christian Faith, but also by exaggeration of the misery of the present life, have argued the weakness and insufficiency of human philosophy for the guidance of life. . . . They have been prone to overstate the argument for the future state of retribution held forth by Christianity. . . . They have not been content with the positive fact that virtue is rewarded to a certain extent in the present state. . . . Probably their tone of thought on moral subjects was drawn originally from Stoicism, . . . but so far as Stoicism was received as a moral guide, it would suggest stern and melancholy views of the present condition of things. It loved to pourtray its wise men indifferent to the course of the world. . . . The good which Moral Philosophy promises is, under the fairest representation of it, remote and contingent. It demands a series of actions, a

continued cultivation of our moral sensibilities. It presupposes, no less than religion, a disposition to believe its promises, and to look patiently for its good."—M. L. p. 29—31.

"Religion sums up all its practical energy in the one quality of Resignation. It takes by the hand those feelings of the heart which look heavenward. Its divine ambition is to loosen the ties which bind us to the present narrow scene of earthly duties, and to fix our thoughts and desires on the invisible spiritual world. . . . It is essentially abnegation of self, of present endearments, of the world around us, of our own power. . . . It works on the heart by faith, hope, love, patience; means which in themselves divert us from confidence in our own activity, and so far check that activity. That Religion, in *itself alone* (sic), tends to this extreme, is evidenced in the lives of devotees, who have sought an entire abstractedness from society, and endeavoured to realize its sublime influence in their hearts, by stilling every thought into passiveness and repose. We are not to blame such persons for being too religious, for perverting and misrepresenting Religion by excess. Their fault is, that they suffer their minds to imbibe it *exclusively* (sic); that they leave no room for their own nature to develop itself; converting what was given for their comfort and encouragement into a sublime luxury and a holy pastime. The religious instincts of the heart were surely never meant to absorb the whole man, according to the designs of Him, who implanted also both private and social affections in our nature. . . . Thus Religion and Morality are as two forces, sustaining the equilibrium of our nature. If either existed without the other, we should be carried away into a devious course."—M. L. p. 96—98.

9. *Positive Statements.*

There is so much in Dr. Hampden of a merely negative nature, from the necessary line of his argument, that it is right, before concluding, to select some of his *positive* statements in favour of those views which are generally received.

He is a believer in the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, (as we might be sure beforehand from his position in the University, and the Subscriptions it involves,) and considers them influential on conduct ; though he does not believe them as revealed truths, but as unrevealed opinions, and pious deductions, which he has no right to impose upon others. He has no wish to abolish formularies of doctrine, as such, considering them accidentally useful *pro re nata* in resisting arbitrary theories of Scripture on the other side ; and though he thinks all doctrinal forms mutable, and thinks our own formularies more dogmatic than is necessary, and might wish to modify or improve them, he has no hope of ever dispensing with them ; both because the restlessness of speculation will never allow of it, and because we are so accustomed to them that change would lead to serious consequences. Moreover, he thinks they are to be maintained while they exist ; and that neglect of this duty is latitudinarianism.

1. "By virtue of those very theological opinions, to which I have declared my assent in admitting the Articles of the Church of England, I have signified my denial and exclusion

of opinions, which I think injurious to Christian truth, and derogatory to the character of a true Church of Christ.”—*Observ.* p. 25.

“I, for one, would contend as zealously against Arian or Socinian doctrines as the most strenuous alarmist on the present occasion, though not, perhaps, in the same manner or with the same weapons; and I should be also strongly opposed to the removal of all Subscription on the part of the Clergy.”—*Postscr. to Observ.* p. 13.

“As believers in a real atonement for sin, we may justly feel shocked at the thought which imputes any merit to man,” &c.—*Observ.* p. 26.

“I think every one who has watched the progress of his mind in theological studies, will confess to this fact in his own case; his difficulties in admitting the Articles have gradually diminished; he has seen, more and more, the reasons of them. For my part, I declare such to have been the result on my own mind, and so far from experiencing any objection to the Articles from an increased acquaintance with them by the prosecution of theological study, I have found my disposition to receive them increase from this very circumstance, that I see more fully the reasons of the statements contained in them.”—*Postscr. to Observ.* p. 9.

“So long as the terms of our communion are what they are, as honest men, we must uphold them and teach them. To accommodate them” [i. e. in our teaching] “to different sects, would be virtually to abandon them. . . . If theological views could have no influence on conduct, like propositions in mathematics, the method might be pursued of simply laying before hearers the different opinions on each point, without expressing our own judgment. But as this is not the case, as questions of this kind are of serious practical influence, we must do our best to prevent any evil, either from unsettled opinion generally, or from any particular opinion that we have reason to think wrong.”—*Observ.* p. 34.

2. "Pious opinions, it must be observed," [such as "the doctrinal statements of our Articles"] "are not parts of revelation."—*Observ.* p. 14.

"Whilst we agree in the canon of Scripture, in the very words, for the most part, from which we learn what are the objects of faith, we suffer disunion to spread among us, through the various interpretations suggested by our own reasonings on the admitted facts of Scripture."—*Observ.* p. 7.

"Because I have laid down what I conceive to be the true *theory* of all Articles, and have shown that such statements are essentially variable in their nature, let it not be supposed immediately, that I have questioned the immutability of *religious truth* in itself. My statement applies only to the dogmas or formal propositions which have been devised to define and declare that truth. Let the two statements be kept quite distinct.—Christian truth" [i. e. the *facts* of Scripture? or, the unknown *objective* truth?] "is immutable; doctrinal forms are mutable."—*Postscr. to Observ.* p. 11.

"Wherever speculative truth is involved, there must be presupposed an opening for improvement."—*Observ.* p. 22.

3. "Orthodoxy was forced to speak the divine truth in the terms of heretical speculation, if it were only to guard against the novelties which the heretic had introduced. It was the necessity of the case that compelled the orthodox, as themselves freely admit, to employ a phraseology, by which, as experience proves, the naked truth of God has been overborne and obscured."—*B. L.* p. 376.

"Pious opinions, indeed, we may form. . . . Such, indeed, are the doctrinal statements of our Articles. I may wish there were less of dogmatism in them; still I cannot but approve them for the piety which pervades them."—*Observ.* p. 14. *Vid.* also p. 22.

"I love and admire the Church of England, because I conceive it to be constituted on the right basis of religious

communion ; neither dogmatic in its spirit, though the wording of its formularies may often carry the sound of dogmatism nor intolerant and sectarian in its zeal," &c.—*Observ.* p. 22.

"To exclude theological opinion from religious profession, to endeavour to sweep away the accumulation of ages, would be but the vain attempt suddenly to change the face of the world. Our next best alternative is to modify it, to correct its improper application, and so to obviate its mischievous effects. In truth, I say, it ought not to exist, &c."—*Observ.* p. 21.

"The theory which I have endeavoured to establish is the very reverse of that system which would emasculate religion by reducing it to mere generalities. I would bring men to think more of the real substance of their religion, and less of its abstractions. I would have them regard it as it is embodied in the life and blood of the Gospel itself, not as it appears in the phantasmagoria of controversial statement."—*Postscr. to Observ.* p. 14.

"To expect, therefore, that all sects should formally and ostensibly pull down their barriers of separation, and combine in one common mass under the Christian name, seems hopeless, if we are to judge from what is known of human nature. But may not that gentle, and enlightened, and spiritual toleration of dissenting opinions, &c. . . . insensibly work a blessed change in the minds and hearts of those who are now estranged from us ?"—*Observ.* p. 29.

"The agreement of a community in certain views of Scripture facts is presupposed. The problem before the dogmatic theologian is to preserve that agreement entire, to guard it from a latitudinarianism which would virtually annul it, and to prevent its dissolution by innovators, either within or without the religious society."—*B. L.* p. 383.

"It appears to me, then, that the occasion for Articles will probably never cease. Were the realism of the human mind

a transient phenomenon, peculiar to one age or one species of philosophy, and not, as is the fact, an instinctive propensity of our intellectual nature, then it might be supposed, that the unsoundness of a metaphysical and logical theology being once fully admitted, the cumbrous machinery might be removed, and the sacred truth allowed to stand forth to view in its own attractive simplicity. But such a result seems rather to be wished and prayed for by a sanguine piety, than reckoned upon in the humbling calculations of human experience. In the mean time it were well to retain, amid all its confessed imperfections, a system of technical theology, by which we are guarded, in some measure, from the exorbitance of religious enthusiasm."—B. L. p. 380.

Conclusion.

Dr. H.'s views then seem at length to issue in the following theory: that there is one and one only truth, that that truth is the record of facts, historical and moral, contained in the text of Scripture; that whatever is beyond that text, even to the classifying of its sentences, is human opinion, and unrevealed; that, though a thoughtful person cannot help forming opinions and theories upon the Scripture record, and is bound to act upon and confess those opinions which he considers to be true, yet he has no right to identify his own opinion on any point, however sacred in itself, with the facts of the revealed history, or to assume that a belief in it is necessary for the salvation of another, or to impose it as a condition of union with another; that, though he considers he cannot be more sure of being right than another, and does not hold his own opinions to be more pious than another's, and will not pronounce heretical opinions (so called) to be dangerous to any being in the world, except to those who do *not* hold them, yet he himself firmly believes the Church's dogmatic statements concerning the Trinity, &c. and at a proper season would contend as zealously against Arian or Socinian doctrines, as those who think that in the case of others belief in them is of importance to eternal salvation; and this, though he considers those statements, as

such, and so far forth as they are distinct from those Scripture facts, which Arians and Socinians hold as religiously as himself, to be “ a system of technical theology by which we are guarded” only “ in some measure from the exorbitance of theoretic enthusiasm,” a system of phrases borrowed from those who differ from us, and useful only in excluding *their* use of them.

It may be excused the present writer, in the wording of these last remarks, to have shown his own sense of the theology which has occasioned them. What may be the issue of the present anxious conflict of opinion in this place, He will order according to His wisdom, who has promised that all things shall work together for good for those who love Him. But should it end in the appointment of Dr. H. to the Theological Chair, he believes that ten years hence, those who are in no way protesting against his appointment now, would, if then alive, feel they had upon them a responsibility greater than has been incurred by Members of this University for many centuries.

THE END.

them not, and useful only in explaining the use of a system of phrases borrowed from those who differ with me from the orthodoxy of theistic faith in it." theology by which we are guarded" only "in some religiously as himself, to be "a system of technical Scripture facts, which Asians and Semitians hold as sacred, and so far forth as they are distinct from those

THE END.

DR. HAMPDEN'S

PAST AND PRESENT STATEMENTS

COMPARED.

A Sequel to "Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements and the XXXIX Articles compared."

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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Copious extracts upon the topics here touched on having been already given, together with the context, in " Dr. Hampden's Theological Statements and the Thirty-nine Articles compared," it is thought sufficient once for all to refer to that pamphlet for such statements from Dr. Hampden's former works, as are not here particularly specified.

It will probably be expected, that those, who have so earnestly expressed their concern and alarm at the nomination of Dr. Hampden to the Regius Professorship of Divinity, should now again state whether his Inaugural Lecture has in any degree dissipated or mitigated those apprehensions. This, in itself, were no unreasonable expectation; for people naturally turn to a writer's last publication, to see whether the impressions made by the former are still conveyed, or are removed, by this. Dr. Hampden's advocates also appealed beforehand in his presence to this Lecture; this was the hearing which they claimed for him.

It becomes necessary, then, (since others require it,) at whatever sacrifice of individual feeling and of love of peace, to examine these statements also; if so be, the minds of others may thus be set at rest, and the healthful peace of the Church be in the end furthered.

Two ways apparently lay open to Dr. Hampden; either to re-affirm the statements of his former works, and to endeavour to shew that they were not inconsistent with the teaching of our Church, nor led to the perilous consequences which were anticipated; or *openly* to retract them, and to express regret for the scandal which they had given.

Dr. Hampden has done neither of these; but, instead, has set forth a general popular statement of religious teaching, portions whereof are indeed in direct contradiction with what he before stated, but which, in many cases, does not even touch upon the questions, his treatment of which had raised such serious apprehensions. These statements it is the more painful to criticize, since (as far as they go) they are agreeable to the Christian Faith; it may, however, (as a warning to ourselves,) be the more useful, in that it shews, how much the mind may go astray, even while a true confession, in part, remains; or how

people may, even conscientiously, employ words, even after the meaning of those words has, according to their own explanation, been evaporated or destroyed. The proceeding is the more alarming, in that it was by the like recurrence (in their case, dishonestly) to general terms, and by the use of language akin to that of the Catholic Church, that the Arian heresy for a while escaped condemnation in the Western, and the Pelagian in the Eastern, Church; each Church being misled by the language of the heretics, with whose theories they were unfamiliar.

Things then in reality remain just as they were: no theologian ever cast any imputation on the direct personal faith of Dr. Hampden, although many feared that it, and much more the faith of those who should follow his teaching, would be ultimately endangered by the theological principles which he holds. Dr. Hampden, however, has vindicated his personal faith, which no one impugned; and his theological principles, the effects whereof were dreaded, he has left untouched.

With regard to the works already published, and upon which men's judgments were formed, Dr. Hampden admits occasional obscurity in terms, and so takes upon himself "some portion of the blame of being misunderstood," but casts the greater portion of the blame upon the misrepresentations of others, and takes as his comfort the words of "a far greater than the philosopher, 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you.'"

The *plain* statements then of the Bampton Lectures and his other works remain untouched and unrecalled; and these were they which excited so much just alarm: for the statements, wherewith Dr. Hampden impugned the received doctrines of the Church, were unhappily at all times too clear; (only some of us could not at first induce ourselves to believe that he meant to say so much as his plain words went to :) it was when he stated his positive views that he became obscure: as when he spoke of "certain sacred facts of Divine Pro-

“vidence which we comprehensively denote by the
“doctrine of a Trinity in Unity.”

It may however be useful for those who have not read his previous works, to review, under the several heads of Christian doctrine, the subjects of men’s alarm, and then to see in what degree that alarm may now be regarded to have been obviated.

THE HOLY TRINITY.

The misgivings with regard to Dr. Hampden’s teaching upon this doctrine arose from its vagueness. He retained the language of the Church, in that he spoke of “the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity,” and he admitted that the notions of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds excluded others *more obviously* (sic) injurious to the Christian Faith. (B. L. p. 378.) But he objected to the notions contained in them as unphilosophical and unscriptural (ibid.); he explained the mystery of the Trinity itself in Sabellian language*; asserted that “the differences of opinion thereon did not affect the Catholic Faith;” that “the Unitarians did not differ *in religion* from other Christians;” that “the whole discussion was fundamentally dialectical,” “the peculiar phraseology, in speaking of the sacred Trinity as Three Persons and one God, established by dialectical science,” that “no one could pretend to that exactness of thought whereon our technical language is based.” He objected also to the prominence given to the doctrines relating to the Trinity as belonging to “a philosophy, which had for its basis a theoretic knowledge of the Divine Being.” (B. L. p. 99.)

In the Inaugural Lecture, he explains or withdraws no one of these statements; but speaks of the “sublime and ineffable relation in which Jesus, as the Christ indeed, stands to us as the only-begotten Son of God, who was with the Father and the Holy Spirit before all worlds, and coequal with Them in majesty, and glory,

* See Dr. Hampden’s Theological Statements, Preface, p. xx, xxi. xxiii.

and holiness, taking upon Him our nature." (p. 7.) "If we know Jesus Christ, we believe in the full sense in which our Church has expressed it, Three Persons and One God, a Trinity in Unity, and an Unity in Trinity," and he states that he has been more and "more convinced, that the Trinitarian doctrine professed by our Church is the true one, that it cannot be denied without expunging the Scriptures themselves."

Now no one imputed to Dr. Hampden that he disbelieved the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in his sense, or that he did not accept the notions of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds as *less obviously* injurious to the simplicity of the Christian Faith than others; but they did object, that his statements led to a vague apprehension of it, to a dislike of the language of the Catholic Church as established at the Council of Nice, to an hostility to the forms, which the whole Church had opposed as a bulwark against heretical speculation. Now this is not removed by his declaring *generally*, that he believes the Trinitarian doctrine received in our Church: and it is remarkable that in his own account of his belief, he precisely omits the word, whereon the whole controversy with the Arians turned. The whole Christian Church, assembled at the Council of Nice, saw the necessity of fixing the language "of one substance with the Father," (*ὁμοούσιος*) as that of the Catholic Church: the Church has consequently used it, and felt also the necessity of adhering to it to this day: whence our Articles say, "of *one substance*, power, and eternity;" again, "the Holy Ghost is of *one substance*, majesty, and glory."

To this language Dr. H. had in his Bampton Lectures objected, as "being settled by a philosophy wherein the principles of different sciences were confounded;" and now for this language, "of one *substance*, power, and *eternity*," or for that of the Athanasian Creed, "the Glory equal, the Majesty *co-eternal*," he has very remarkably substituted the words, "coequal in majesty, and glory, and holiness." This last attribute of "holiness," thus introduced, is

the more characteristic, since it is novel in itself, and manifestly has reference not to the Eternal Godhead of the Son, but to the Son as manifest in the flesh, and thus leads us back to Dr. Hampden's original theory, that we know nothing of God, except in His manifestations upon this our earth. This is not then to be regarded as an insulated or accidental circumstance, but rather as indicative of the whole theory to which it belongs ; and indeed in this very passage our knowledge of the Holy Trinity is built up upon the relation in which " the man Christ Jesus," being also the Only-Begotten Son of God, occupies to usward.

I do not mean by this to imply that Dr. Hampden disbelieves, in his sense, the statement of the Church ; nor that he would not use the word, when his attention is called to it, " as excluding other terms more obviously injurious to the simplicity of the Christian Faith." The Arian heresy in its original form has now long been silenced through this confession " of " one substance," (soon as, through its omission, it may probably reappear,) and a layman may well be excused, if he repeats the Nicene Creed without knowing the value of the word, which he utters ; but in a professed Theologian, who had taken upon himself to criticise the language of the Church on this high doctrine, it does betray an unsound ignorance or indifference to the importance belonging to it, that, in a professed defence of his faith, he omits the very word, upon which the main controversy of the Christian Church with misbelievers turns.

It should be remarked also, that Dr. Hampden still refers to his Bampton Lectures, on the doctrine of the Trinity, as " speculative discussion, in which he " had in view to bring it home to the understanding, " (so far as such a mystery could be brought home " to the understanding,) *free from glosses and misconstructions*," (p. 9.) and so, still recognizes those Lectures in the very point, in which they were objected to, as opposed to the teaching of the Church Catholic.

THE WORD OR SON OF GOD.

Our misgivings arose, in that Dr. Hampden maintained, that the orthodox language declaring the Son "begotten before all worlds, *of one substance* (sic) with the Father," was settled by a confused philosophy; that "materialism intruded itself into *what was considered* the Orthodox view of the Divine Proceeding;" that "there was much of the language of Platonism in the speculation;" that "the account of the Incarnation was more peculiarly logical, with a mixture however of physical speculation;" that "the received statements of doctrines were only episodic additions, some out of infinite theories, which may be raised upon texts of Scripture."

In the Inaugural Lecture, Dr. Hampden's positive statements are that "*Jesus*" (the name is always used in Scripture of our Lord's human nature) "stands *to us in a sublime and ineffable relation* as the only-begotten Son of God, who was with the Father and the Holy Spirit before all worlds;" that "Christians, in the highest sense of the term," are "devout believers in the proper Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ." (p. 6.) Here again, by the way, Dr. Hampden has singularly missed the language of the Church, in that he has substituted the words "the only-begotten Son of God, who *was with* the Father and the Holy Spirit before all worlds," for that of the Nicene Creed, "the only-begotten Son of God, *begotten* of the Father before all worlds, God of God," or of our Articles, "the Son—*begotten from everlasting of the Father*, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father." And yet the language which he has omitted, is just that limitation, which the Church adopted against heresy, and which he before opposed: he still speaks of "*Jesus standing to us in a sublime and ineffable relation* as the only-begotten Son of God," as he before said, that it was "a *relative* Deity, revealed to us, when we learn that "there are three Persons in the Godhead."

It does not appear whether Dr. Hampden has tacitly retracted his objection to what he had before objected to, as the result of "theory," (B. L. p. 231.) the statement that "our Lord assumed to his Divinity human nature itself:" he uses indeed the language of the Church, "took our nature upon him," yet explains not, whether he now accepts it, in the sense in which he before objected to it. We find him using the words of the Church, and nothing more. Yet even while employing the general language, "took our nature upon Him," he avoids what he before treated as a mere "question of logical philosophy," "the language of our Article affirming in Christ, 'two whole and perfect natures,' 'never to be divided.'" (B. L. p. 139-141.)

Another statement, that our Lord "condescended" (in modern language "accommodated himself") to the [erroneous] prejudices of his followers, remains as before.

ATONEMENT.

Our fears on this head, again, arose from Dr. Hampden's *explanations* of the doctrine: he spoke of it before, as a "real atonement for sin;" (Obs. p. 26.) but when he came to explain what he meant under this term, it related only to "*human agency*;" only to what is the effect of Christ's Death *in* us, to what *we* could do *in consequence* of that Death, not to that Death in itself, or its own intrinsic efficacy, or what by His precious blood-shedding He hath obtained for us. "Christ died," it was said, solely "that *we might know* (sic) that we have passed from the death of sin to the life of righteousness by *Him*, and that our own hearts might not condemn us;" but that we "may not attribute to God any change of purpose towards man by what Christ has done:" in other words, whereas our Articles say "Christ truly suffered to reconcile His Father to us," Dr. Hampden says, (and this is so far pre-

cisely the language of the Socinians^a;) that "He died, in order that *we* might be reconciled to God." There was meanwhile an alarming indistinctness in the rest of his language, and those words which had been employed, most distinctly to express the Christian doctrine, as opposed to the Socinian heresy, were mentioned disparagingly, or as Scholastic phrases, or discarded. Such are Expiation, Satisfaction, Punishment or Vicariousness; moreover, while the Atonement was placed in the "*connection* of Christ's righteousness with our unrighteousness," all mention of His "blood" was omitted.

In the Inaugural Lecture, Dr. H. speaks of the "atoning Saviour," (p. 6.) of Jesus Christ's "submitting to sufferings and death on the Cross for our sins," (p. 4.) "stooping to the humiliation of our manhood, and so becoming a meet sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," (p. 7.) "the atoning merits of His death and sacrifice on the Cross." (ib.) He also speaks of "salvation through the blood of Christ." (p. 11.)

This is again the *language* of our Church, but what he means under this language, Dr. H. leaves unexplained, or whether he understands any thing more than when he explained the Atonement to relate to "*human agency*," (and that, as opposed to the "gloss" of Commentators, or the refinements of Theorists,) and objected to the Church's doctrine of "expiation, "as depressing the power of man too low." The belief in the objective, intrinsic reality of the Atonement was impaired both by his objections to the Catholic doctrine, and his advocacy of a scheme, whereby the Atonement became subjective only, the reconciliation to God, which, through Christ's death, took place in each human mind that received it. This a Socinian would, in his sense, hold; and our difficulties as to the tendency of his teaching are not removed by

^a Some passages to this purpose, from the *Fratres Poloni*, are quoted in the *Elucidations*, p. 27.

the simple unexplained repetition of the words of our Formularies. And yet he was publicly called upon, some weeks before the delivery of his Lecture, "for the sake of his hearers and readers," to explain his statements on this, as on other subjects^b.

ORIGINAL SIN.

Man's actual tendency to sin was admitted by the Pelagians, (and indeed by the Heathen,) as well as by the Church: the Pelagians denied, and the Church asserted, its natural propagation, and consequently its existence in infants: herein Dr. Hampden sided with the Pelagians against the Church; asserted, that "the term 'propagation,' ('propagati,' 'engendered,' 'Art. IX.) was *introduced in order to prove* the universality of evil," that "a positive deterioration of our nature was a scholastic notion;" that "the strength of the expression, 'very far gone from original righteousness,' was to be estimated by comparing the fallen condition of man with that transcendent holiness which, in the *scholastic notion*, was man's first estate;" that "our Article on this subject contained a train of thought, following the speculations of the Schools," and specifically objected to the supposed existence of original sin in "the guileless infant." (p. 221.)

In the Inaugural Lecture, Dr. Hampden says he does "not see how any one who holds rightly the Incarnation and Atonement of our Lord can look at *his own* nature, otherwise than, in the language of the Article, 'very far gone from original righteousness,' and 'corrupt' in the strictest sense of the term;" that "when we find this Divine Expiation provided in the counsels of the Almighty at the transgression of the first man, surely we must acknowledge, as it is *simply* declared in Scripture, the depth of the root of that sinfulness for which the Redeemer came to atone." (p. 13.)

^b Elucidations of Dr. H.'s Theological Statements, pp. 11, 18, 19, 26, 28, 29.

The language as to the degree of corruption is here changed; but Dr. Hampden still leaves it unexplained whether by "our *own* nature," he means our nature as we have corrupted it by actual sin^a, or our nature as deriving an hereditary taint through our natural descent from Adam: accordingly, he explains not whether he retracts his former statements, or still sides with the Pelagians.

FAITH AND GRACE.

Dr. Hampden had before stated, among other things, with regard to FAITH, that the "*priority*, which "our Articles is, in such strong terms, ascribed to "Faith, among the acts of the Christian life, is accounted for by the *physical* notion of faith as an "*infused* principle, the *origin* of a new life, held by "the Schoolmen." (B. L. p. 236, 7. cf. p. 209.) And "that Faith ought to have been held in a negative sense "only." (p. 238.) Of GRACE he had condemned the "positive sense" as "something that admits of definition and distribution into its various kinds," and its "subdivisions of 'preventing' and 'following' Grace, "Grace 'operating' and 'co-operating,'" (B. L. p. 188.) as being "derived from Scholasticism," (ibid.) and remarked "how erroneous is the conception produced "in the mind by speaking of Grace operating and "co-operating, Grace preventing and following." (p. 187.)

In the Inaugural Lecture he says, (p. 12.) "If "we believe in the Atonement of a Divine Redeemer, "and the sanctification of a Divine Comforter, we "cannot but be cordially disposed to receive the doctrines of Justification and Faith, of preventing and "co-operating Grace. . . . God by His preventing "Grace putting into our hearts good desires; by His "co-operating Grace enabling us to bring the same to "good effect."

^a The "statements of Christian doctrine," extracted from his works, and put forth in his defence, leave the question equally vague.

Herein we have with regard to GRACE a direct, as to FAITH an implied, contradiction. Which statement are we to take? or how is such unexplained contradiction to satisfy us with regard to the future teaching of those committed to our care?

HUMAN WILL.

In a very recent work, wherein Dr. Hampden claimed for Moral Philosophy the most absolute independence on Religion, or rather subordinated Religion to it, (M. P. p. 95.) he maintained propositions to the following effect.

“When we will to do any thing, *it is in our power to will either to do or not to do it; it is, in the strictest sense, competent to us to will (sic) to act in this way or that way. Herein resides the proper freedom of the will of man.*”—M. P. p. 79, 80.

“It is the part of sound *philosophy to strengthen the power of the will by immediate address to itself.*”—Ib. p. 91.

“In moral action, *man holds sway with a supremacy, delegated indeed from the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, but absolute.*”—Ib. p. 86.

“It is man’s high prerogative to be, in a great degree, *a creature of his own making; he can modify and transform himself, as a moral being, as he pleases; what he may become (sic) depends almost solely on what he may will (sic).*”—Ib. p. 84.

He asserted also (B. L. p. 301.) that “the *religious principle* is not to be substituted for morality as the spring of action.”

In the Inaugural Lecture, (p. 12, 13.) he says, “to know that the Holy Spirit is with us, dwelling in our hearts, is to know further that of ourselves we have no power to turn unto God, but that His grace must come down to us, and bring us to Him.”

Dr. Hampden must have some means of reconciling to himself these two statements: we are concerned

with his teaching, not with his faith : and how can such statements hold together ?

THE HOLY SACRAMENTS.

Dr. Hampden had before stated that “ the doctrine “ of the Sacraments was a Christianized form of the “ mystical philosophy of secret agents in nature,” that “ the ready reception of the theory [of the Church] “ was accounted for by the general belief of magic, in “ the early ages of the Church,” that “ the notion “ that Sacraments are visible channels, whereby virtue [or “ grace,” B. L. p. 312.] is conveyed from “ Christ to his mystical body, the Church, was part “ of the theoretic view of the Scholastic Philosophy,” that “ the whole doctrine and ritual of the Church of “ Rome, might be drawn from this primary notion of “ sacramental efficiency,” that “ the seven Sacraments of the Church of Rome were deduced in just “ logical connection with that original theory,” that “ the faith of the Receiver was the true *consecrating* “ principle of the Sacraments.”

On BAPTISM especially, he had stated the opinion of the Church (as implied in her formularies), viz. that the use of “ water” and of the words “ in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,” are *essential* to the Sacrament, “ to be derived from the subtle “ speculations about matter and form,—introduced to “ establish and perfect the theory of instrumental “ efficiency ascribed to the rites themselves,” that “ Conditional Baptism was a scholastic provision,” “ the doctrine of vicarious faith, in the administration of Baptism to infants, a scholastic notion, an “ effectual means of power to the Church” (B. L. p. 324, 5.), “ the decision on the intrinsic efficacy of the “ rite” was “ only speculation;” that “ the use of the “ terms ‘incorporated’ into the Church and being made “ a ‘member of the body of Christ,’ as equivalent, was “ owing to the *confusion of ideas* prevalent in the “ early Church on the subject of Baptism.”

On the LORD'S SUPPER he had said, that "the assertion of a real and true presence of Christ in the Eucharist resulted from the original Platonism of the Church."

In the Inaugural Lecture, he speaks of BAPTISM as "the *mystic* sign and seal of our regeneration," (p. 7.) that we were therein "consecrated to God in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," that we then "commenced our Christian condition as the creatures of God the Father, the redeemed of God the Son, the sanctified of God the Holy Ghost," (ib.) that "we know that God loves us, because He is the Father of Jesus Christ and the Giver of the Spirit, because He has created us again in His Son:" that "our Saviour has sanctified water to the mystical washing away of sin, by declaring that 'except a man be born of water and of the Spirit,' &c., and by an express promise that 'he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' We cannot doubt, therefore, the efficacy of Baptism among the means of grace." Again, "our Church in virtue of Christ's promise regards the baptized as regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." (p. 14.)

With regard to the Holy Eucharist, he states that "our Church holds a *real* vital presence of Christ in the Sacrament," that "forbidding us to hold the doctrine of a corporal presence" it "does not presume to overlook the strong words of Christ, declaring 'this is my body,' 'this is my blood,' and 'he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him;' and will not therefore incur the impiety of emptying this holy Sacrament of its gifted treasure of grace." (p. 14, 15.)

* Cf. B. L. p. 320, where the fear of "evacuating the Sacrament of its holy burthen of grace" is apparently stigmatized as leading to Scholastic theories: in like manner "mystic," as applied to the Sacraments, is in the B. L. used as a term of censure, e. g. p. 341. "an elaborate system of mystical theurgy," here, of dignity.

These are, indeed, in many respects, the words of our Church: some of the phraseology is in truth very vague; as, that we "are consecrated to God in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," is language resembling that of the Baptists, who speak of "consecrating their children to God," even while they refuse them the Sacrament of Baptism. What again is meant, by "consecrating a child to God," *"in the name of the Father, &c.?"* It is further high language to say that we "were brought into the holy presence of the Blessed Trinity;" but still it implies no spiritual grace, and this was what before seemed to be denied. And in what meaning are we to combine his use of the words of our Church with his late direct contradiction of them? how are we to reconcile his present admission of the "efficacy of Baptism among the means of grace," with his former urgent opposition to the belief that the Sacraments were channels or instruments of grace? or how his present acquiescence in the Church's assertion of a "real presence of Christ in the Eucharist," with his former position that this "assertion was derived from Platonism?"

HOLY SCRIPTURE.

The following are some of the propositions before formed from his works:

That it was in the Schoolmen "an improperly-directed veneration for the text of Scripture, to receive Scripture, not simply as the living Word of God, but as containing the sacred propositions of inspired wisdom," and that thus while they set themselves to gather up the fragments of revealed truth, they "lost the opportunity of feeding on the bread of God which came down from heaven." (p. 91.)

That "to make it our business, to collect into one theory every scattered intimation of the Divine Being and attributes, is the result of a false view of Scripture, as having God for their proper subject." (p. 89.)

That "no conclusions of human reasoning, are properly religious truths," but only "pious opinions." (Observ. p. 8, 14.)

That "a fundamental characteristic of the Christian Scriptures totally precludes all deduction of speculative, or intellectual, or theological conclusions, concerning religious truth." (Observ. p. 13.)

That "by means of what was termed in the Schools the analogy of faith, the Bible lost its most important characteristic in the comparison with other assumed revelations." (B. L. p. 88.)

He objected also to the practice of "adducing text after text from an Epistle, in which it was contended that some dogmatic *truth*, some theory, or system, or peculiar view of Divine truth, is asserted;" requesting it might be "considered, whether it was not by such a mode of inference from the Scriptural language, as would convert the Epistles into textual authorities on points of controversy, that the very system of the Scholastic theology was erected" (B. L. p. 375); maintaining that "texts, *as texts*, prove nothing" (Obs. p. 15. first ed.); and stigmatizing, as a "common prejudice" without foundation, the principle "which identifies *systems of doctrine—or theological propositions methodically deduced and stated—with the simple religion of Jesus Christ.*" (Obs. p. 3.)

Dr. Hampden now says :

"It (private reason) must compare Scripture with Scripture, and so gather up the fragments of truth scattered throughout the sacred volume, and put them together. This is a perfectly legitimate employment of reason. It is a very different process from that of the speculatist, who selects certain abstract notions, and frames definitions, and argues from them what must be the truth of Revelation. The true Christian inquirer uses his reason to the utmost in interpreting what he reads in Scripture. He *reasons*, and *concludes*, and judges, but he does not speculate. He pursues what is called the analogy of faith, analysing and combining the passages of Scripture, and so forms a comprehensive scheme of *religious truth* from the Bible." . . . (p. 23.)

Now, again, it seems needful to ask, How can these stand together? How is this statement to be reconciled with his former objection to "all deduction of consequences" as "irrelevant to the establishment of

“religious doctrine?” (B. L. p. 54.) How, with the position, that, though it was “hardly possible to avoid “*speculating or reasoning* on the given truths of Scripture, no right intellectual, speculative, or *theological* truth could result ;” that no “*conclusions of human reasoning*, however correctly deduced, however logically sound, are properly *religious truths* ;” nay, that these “intellectual, or speculative, or *theological conclusions*, have been the fruitful source of controversy, and error, and heresy, in the progress of Christianity?” (Observ. p. 8, 13, 14.)

Here, then, are two views directly opposed to each other. Which is it likely that young men will take, that which binds them to authority and received notions, or that which directly sets them free from it, and from the “cumbrous machinery” of “a meta-physical and logical theology,” (B. L. p. 380,) and holds out the hope that thereby “the sacred truth” might be “allowed to stand forth to view, in its own attractive simplicity?” (ib.)

CREEDS AND ARTICLES.

The same question recurs here. Dr. Hampden now declares, that the Church “interposes *usefully* “with her Creeds, and Articles, and Homilies, and “Liturgy, and Canons ;” that he is satisfied in his own mind “that they have been of essential use for “*maintaining the Christian religion in its integrity*, in “holding together the faithful in fast communion, in “keeping the *unity* of the Spirit in the bond of “peace.” “Under this conviction,” he says, “however freely I may have discussed the abstract *phraseology* in which they are expressed, I have said “whatever I may have on any occasion said concerning the Creeds and Articles of the Church. . . . “Have they guarded and inculcated the truth as it is “written ? This is the question with regard to them. “I firmly believe that they have done so, by the “watchful superintendence of Christ over his Church ; “and I therefore esteem them very highly for their “work’s sake, though they have wrought that work

“ by the hands of fallible men, and amidst all the “ imperfections of human language.” (p. 19, 20.)

Dr. Hampden’s charge, however, against the Creeds and Articles related not (as he here implies) to their *phraseology* simply, but to their substance, to their “ speculative or theological conclusions,” “ the unscripturalness of the notions on which their several expressions were founded,” “ the *unsoundness* of “ the metaphysical and logical theology” contained in them, “ the speculations of *false* philosophy, which “ intermingled with them,” and upon which the most sacred truths were based ; these he pronounced to be not the bond of union, but “ the fruitful source of “ controversy, and error, and heresy,” maintaining that “ theological opinion ought not to be the bond of “ union of any Christian society,” and that “ the “ real *unity* of the Church is, after all, an invisible “ one.”

The following propositions out of a number formed from his works might suffice :

It is these “ speculative or theological conclusions,” such as we find in “ all articles of religious communion,” which have “ been the fruitful source of *controversy* and *error* and “ heresy in the progress of Christianity, and against which “ accordingly the zeal of every lover of the simple faith, as it “ is in Christ Jesus, ought to be directed.” (Observ. p. 13.)

“ Experience proves,” that “ the naked *truth* of God has “ been *overborne* and *obscured* by the *phraseology* which the “ Orthodox were forced to employ.” (B. L. p. 377.)

“ The *notions* on which the several expressions of the “ Articles at large, and in particular of the Nicene and “ Athanasian Creeds, are *founded*, are both unphilosophical “ and *unscriptural* ;” their terms belong to “ ancient theories “ of philosophy, to exclude others *more obviously* (sic) injurious to the simplicity of the Faith.” (p. 378.)

“ The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds involve scholastic “ *speculations*,” they are “ *logical* definitions of the high “ subject of which they treat.” (p. 544.)

“ The *speculative logical* Christianity which survives among “ us at this day, has been in all ages, the principal obstacle “ to the *union* and peace of the Church of Christ.” (p. 53.)

“ I would once more call attention to the divine part of “ Christianity, as entirely distinct from its episodic additions.

“ Whatever may have been the motives and conduct of successive agents employed in its propagation, whatever may have been the speculations of *false* Philosophy on the facts of Christianity; those facts themselves are not touched.” (p. 390.)

“ Assuming that the Holy Spirit has not been unfaithful to his charge over the Church of Christ, I have endeavoured to take some account of that *resistance* which the human agent has opposed to the diffusion of the *truth* as it was divinely inspired. . . . As in the natural world, corruption and disease may mark for their own the fairest works of the Divine hand, but cannot unmake them; so neither are we to suppose that the superintendence of Christ over his Church no longer exists, because the fields of his vineyard have been overrun with thorns and weeds.” (p. vi. viii.)

“ The real unity of the Church is, after all, an invisible one. It is the communion of saints; the union of Christians with the Holy Spirit himself. And it is not for us to trace his path minutely . . . all that we ought to say of our own profession is, in the spirit of St. Paul’s expression, ‘ Such is our ‘judgment,’ and we ‘think also that’ we ‘have the Spirit of God.’ ” (Observ. p. 28.)

OLD TESTAMENT. HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

Dr. Hampden before laid down that “ the assertion that ‘ the Fathers looked not for transitory promises,’ (Art. VII.) may be traced to the scholastic distinction between Implicit and Explicit Faith. The invariableness and sameness of the object of Faith was thus maintained.” (B. L. p. 239. note.) Dr. H. must then have held that the object of Faith was *not* the same in the Fathers as in us, that they did not look to a Redeemer.

In his Inaugural Lecture he says, “ The great Truth” [of our Redemption] “ is the animating principle of the Scriptures both of the *Old* and New Testament.” (p. 5.)

These latter words, then, cannot mean what they ordinarily would; if brought into connection with the other, they can only signify, that the doctrine of the redemption is that, which *tous* gives life to the Scriptures of the Old Testament, although unknown to them, to whom they were originally given.

This however stands in contradiction with another prominent assertion, viz. the necessity of a historical Theology. Dr. H. namely, blames the Schoolmen for analyzing the words and language of Scripture, alleging that they thus “ nullified the

“ use of Scripture as a *record* [sic] of the divine dealings with
 “ the successive generations of mankind. The voice of God
 “ was no longer heard as it spoke ‘ in sundry times and in divers
 “ manners’ to holy men of old ; but simply as uttering the
 “ hallowed symbols of an oracular wisdom. The whole of
 “ Revelation was treated as one contemporaneous production ;
 “ of which the several parts might be expounded, without
 “ reference to the circumstances in which each was delivered.
 “ For what was termed in the Schools, the Analogy of Faith,
 “ was not, as might be supposed, an interpretation of passages
 “ relatively to particular periods and particular occasions, but
 “ merely the shewing that ‘ the truth of one Scripture was not
 “ repugnant to the truth of another.’ ” (B. L. p. 88.)

One might observe in the outset, that St. Paul’s words, “ at sundry times and in divers manners,” are an argument against the *à priori* notions of the Jews, as if God *must* reveal Himself uniformly : secondly, they contrast the dignity of this last revelation through His Son, with His former discoveries of Himself through the Prophets ; but assuredly they do not convey any notion of a difference in the *substance* of the revelation. On the theory, however, of an “ historical interpretation,” wherein passages are to be interpreted not as the words in themselves would mean, but “ relatively to particular *periods*,” wherein revelation is not to be looked upon as one contemporaneous production, nor its sayings as “ oracular wisdom,” a passage e. g. in Genesis, or the Psalms, or Isaiah, is not to be expounded in the same way as if it occurred in the New Testament, the whole instruction of the Old Testament is lowered. This was the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of the “ historical interpretation” as it was partially embraced by Semler, viz. that a passage was to be understood not as the Holy Spirit wrote it, but as it would appear to them to whom it was addressed. On this principle, the meaning of our Lord’s hallowed words would also soon be lowered, i. e. if they “ may not be expounded, without reference to the circumstances in which they were delivered.” For however these attending circumstances may occasionally illustrate His words, an over-attention to these circumstances is sure to limit and restrain the depth and

largeness of their meaning. An "historical theology" continually changes His words, from being the fountains of Divine Truths, springing up unto everlasting life, into those of a Teacher sent from God in Judea and for Judea only.

The vagueness resulting from this "historical theology" is yet further aggravated by what was said of the "rhetorical" as opposed to the "logical" interpretation of Scripture. This is said (B. L. p. 91.) to be a "subject of large compass" "tending, if due weight were given to it, more than any thing else to dissipate the wild theories of speculative religionists, and bring men to the *true way of finding out God* in the Scriptures." Now what Dr. H. objects to the Schoolmen is throughout "over-precision," "a morbid taste for verbal exposition," the regarding "Scripture as containing the sacred *propositions* (sic) of inspired wisdom," "the verbal analysis of Scriptural propositions, with the view of ascertaining the *nature* (sic) of the things described," "to fix exact limits within which the Catholic Faith might be included." The remedy proposed is, not to look at Scripture thus precisely and rigidly, but rhetorically, as given to influence and to persuade. Dr. Hampden means this well; it is after the fashion of the day to look to the influence exerted, to the effect produced; but it may be safely said, that no more fatal instrument for the effacing all accurate knowledge of religious truth as truth, all definiteness of religious faith, ever entered into the human mind, than this exaltation of the "rhetorical" character of Scripture, if opposed, (as Dr. H. does) to the rigid examination of Scripture statements, and followed out, (as he would have it) not as a means of learning how to impress others with Divine Truth, but as a means of "finding out" the Almighty.

TRADITION AND THE CHURCH.

Dr. Hampden's statements upon this head have been much confused by a singular unacquaintance with the meaning of "tradition," and the point at issue between ours and the Romish Church. "Tradition," in its controversial sense, is doctrine handed down in the Church *independent* of, and not derived from, but of equal authority with, the written word of God. Dr. H. says, "Tradition is nothing more than *expositions of the text of Scripture*, reasoned out by the Church, and embodied in a code of doctrine."

(Obs. p. 6.) When then, Dr. H. says, "if with these strong assertions of the paramount authority of the Bible, I should receive *any other authority*, as *a legitimate source of divine truth*, I should convict myself of deserting the cause of Protestantism and of our own Church," (Inaug. Lect. p. 16, 17.) he has simply mistaken the whole question, and asserts only what no Protestant ever denied.

The sole difference between our Church and any class of Ultra-Protestants amounts to this, that they appeal to the Scriptures, as expounded by their own private interpretation; ours, (where such consent could be had, as in the great truths of the Gospel,) to Holy Scripture as expounded by the consent of Catholic antiquity, or the agreement of the Universal Church.

It was this consent, (to which our great writers, as Bp. Jewell, &c. so constantly appeal, and upon which our controversies with Rome were carried on,) that Dr. H. in his Bampton Lectures impugned, although (as was said) the view is much confused by the wrong sense which he attaches to the word Tradition. For his theory, as there stated, is, that *a priori* it will be probable that Christianity would be least purely received at first, and that, if we "consider the fact dispassionately" it was so, (B. L. p. 358.) that "the truth received a large portion of alloy in its transmission, and that consequently the earlier" Fathers (though more pious) are, in reality, much "less instructive than the later." (p. 361.) "The errors, however, of the primitive Fathers," we are told, "are much less dangerous in their effect than those of their successors. Their errors are left loose and indefinite on the surface of the Christian system. The Fathers of the fourth century [whose

* Dr. H. has again altogether mistaken the whole argument, for the question is not about the private opinions of particular Fathers, but what was common to all; each Father may very probably in particular points have erred, and yet there remains an agreement which implies a common (i. e. an Apostolic) origin of what was universally believed among them all.

"authority is chiefly employed in the Church, p. 361.] incorporated their errors with the Gospel itself. But practical Christianity and dogmatic Christianity are two very different things." (p. 362.) Again, he opposes himself to the well-known maxim, that "what is originally *established* as a point of doctrine, is therefore true, what has subsequently arisen is corrupt," or that "the doctrine believed, in all places, in all times, and by all men, is the orthodox doctrine." (p. 354.) And accordingly he professes that it matters little which opinion on the doctrine of the Trinity were prior, or most extensively received. (p. 149.)

In the Inaugural Lecture, (p. 18, 19.) Dr. H. states, "We cannot doubt that the Church, at large, and in particular its ministers, as the immediate bearers of the Apostolical commission, are means appointed by the Scriptures themselves for the *exposition* of the Divine word."

Yet how is this consistent with his previous objections to tradition, as *expositions of the text of Scripture*, or with his statements of the early corruptions of Christianity, or indeed with the whole tone and object of the Bampton Lectures, which was to exhibit how the human agent, (i. e. the Fathers, who established the received form of Christian doctrine,) "resisted the diffusion of the truth, as it was divinely inspired?" (B. L. p. vi.)

THEOLOGICAL LANGUAGE.

Dr. Hampden expresses his regret, that his use of the word FACT to designate Christian truths has been misconceived; and upon this misconception he seems to suppose that the objections taken to his principles mainly rest. His use of the word was, he believes, founded upon a passage of Bp. Butler, who speaks of doctrines as being "matters of fact," and says, that "precepts come under the same notion."

"I have no wish," adds Dr. H. "to retain a phraseology which is not generally understood. But I think it has no real difficulty in it, to persons at least accustomed to

“ philosophical terms. All such persons know that *fact* in
 “ philosophical language is not restricted to something *done*
 “ (sic), though it denotes such a thing in its primary sense;
 “ but means in general *whatever is* (sic). I employ the term
 “ to express the *reality* (sic) which belongs to Christian
 “ truths as they are matters of Revelation, *as they exist in*
 “ *the Scriptures themselves*, where they are not so much matters
 “ taught, or truths stated systematically, as they are matters
 “ revealed. ‘Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord.’
 “ ‘This is a true saying, &c.’ ‘God is Love.’ Here are
 “ several *propositions* which as parts of the Scripture *Reve-*
 “ *lation* are realities of the kingdom of grace, or facts, as I
 “ term them; when, however, they are taken out of Scripture
 “ and taught in the same, or equivalent expressions, as parts
 “ of a system of Christian truth, they are more properly
 “ doctrines.” (p. 32, 3.)

Yet the sense given by Bp. Butler, and that now adopted by Dr. Hampden, (although still with an opposition to doctrine, which is not Bp. Butler’s usage of the term,) are fundamentally at variance with that which lies as the basis of all the statements of the Bampton Lectures. Dr. H. now says, “ Fact means *whatever is* (sic), and is not in philosophical language restricted to something *done*” (sic). Before, he as distinctly, and positively restricted the word to that, to which he now says, in philosophical language it is not to be restricted—the doings, or actions, or providences of God. This distinction is of immense importance: for (if one may speak even reverently on such a subject) “ the Eternal Generation of the Ever-Blessed Son,” “ the Procession of the Holy Ghost,” “ the Consubstantiality of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity,” are, in that sense, “ facts;” but, as Dr. Hampden before uniformly restrained the word to *doings*, and *actions*, and *providences* of God, and His *Agency in the world* and the *history* of Divine Providence, they were not “ facts.” And yet it was upon this assumption, that “ the Divine part of Scripture was its facts,” and that these facts “ formed part of the great history of mankind,” that Dr. Hampden’s whole theory was based. It was on this distinction that so much of Christian doctrine was cast aside as speculation.

There are then two distinct uses of the word *fact*,

one unobjectionable perhaps, but inapplicable; the other applicable, but objectionable. In the one sense, it excludes what Dr. H. calls the "episodic additions to the facts of Christianity," but therewith excludes also the main Articles of the Christian Faith; in the other, all doctrines are facts, and so also the "episodic and Scholastic additions," which it was the one object of the Bampton Lectures to remove. Dr. Hampden must (in the hurry of which he complains) have forgotten the sense in which he employed it: he obviously could not have intended to apply it in the one sense, and to defend it in the other.

The following passages illustrate his past use of the word "*fact*."

"The real state of the case in regard to our Scriptures is, that *the whole revelation* contained in them, so far as it is revelation, consists of *matter of fact*. Either we have direct and continuous history, acquainting us with the being, providences, and mercies of God, *as the occasions of the world have presented them to our view*; or we have predictions of his conduct, as it would appear on certain future *occasions*; or, as is the case in the didactic and devotional portions, reflection on the *Divine agency in the world*, and application of [*the instances of first ed.*] *his providences*, whether already disclosed or foretold in prophecy." (Observ. p. 13, 14.)

"I venture to say, there are no *propositions* concerning God in Scripture, detached from some *event* of Divine Providence to which they refer, and on which they are founded. Some perhaps will say, 'An inspired writer has said thus, or thus—this then, as asserted by him, is matter of *fact*, and accordingly it is on matter of fact in this sense of the expression that the Christian revelation is said to be founded.' The expression 'matter of fact' will no doubt admit this sense. But to interpret the Scripture *revelation* in this manner, is only to return to the assertion of its dogmatic character under another form. It brings us back, to take the words or *propositions* written by the inspired writers as the *substance of the revelation*, instead of looking to the *authenticated dealings of God in the world*.

"When I say, therefore, that the Christian *revelation* is matter of *fact*, I intend by it, to express my conviction, that the substance of the revelation is the *doings and actions* of God; I have always before my view, some *event* in the *history* of God's *providences* to which I refer it. In this

“sense, the truth concerning God is independent of any particular *wording* of it—its proper divine character is exempted from all alloy which the imperfection of the writer, the peculiarity of his circumstances, or the idiom of language, may accidentally infuse into it. In this sense, texts, *as texts*, (sic) prove nothing; texts establish Divine truths, only as indices to *real facts*, in the *history of Divine Providence*.

“Now this two-fold character of the Scripture—it being partly historical, partly didactic—serves at once to direct and limit our information concerning God . . . All that is to be inferred from the Scripture notices of him, he has already drawn out for us—in the expositions, reflections, and pious effusions of prophets, evangelists, and apostles.

“Let us then attend to the sort of commentaries, or inferences, or reflections, made by the inspired writers on *the facts of Divine Providence*. Are they not exclusively of a *practical* nature? Examine the Epistles of St. Paul, and see whether these energetic documents of an apostle’s faith in his Saviour and love for his converts and brethren, have not been abused—when they have been treated as *doctrinal* expositions,—and not as ardent exhortations to Christian *duty*. . . . In fact, there is no other great doctrine preached by him, but what himself declares, when he says, ‘We preach Christ crucified.’ It is the *collection* of *facts* involved in that general expression, ‘Christ crucified,’ which is the sum and substance of his writings. The rest is enforcement of this on the minds and hearts, first of the persons immediately addressed, and subsequently of the whole Christian world.” (Observ. p. 14—16. first edition.)

“Strictly to speak, in the Scripture itself there are *no doctrines*. What we read there is matter of *fact*: either fact nakedly set forth *as it occurred*; or fact *explained* and elucidated by the light of inspiration cast upon it. It will be thought, perhaps, that the Apostolic Epistles are an exception to this observation. . . . The Epistles clearly imply that the work of Salvation is *done*. They repeat and insist on its most striking parts; urging chiefly on man, what remains for him to *do* (sic) now that Christ has *done* all that God purposed in behalf of man, before the foundation of the world. . . . Let the experiment be fairly tried . . . whether the *practical*, or the theoretic, view of the Epistles, is the correct one. . . . The speculating theologian will perhaps answer, by adducing text after text from an Epistle, in which he will contend that some dogmatic truth . . . is asserted. But ‘what is the chaff to the wheat?’ . . . And I ask whether it is likely that an Apostle would have adopted the form of an epistolary communication, for imparting

“mysterious *propositions*. . . whether, in preaching Christ, he would have used a method of communicating truth, which implies some scientific application of language—an analysis, at least, of *propositions* into their terms—in order to its being rightly understood? And I further request it may be considered, whether it was not, by such a mode of inference from Scripture-language, as would convert the Epistles into textual authorities on points of controversy, that the very system of Scholastic Theology was erected?” (B. L. p. 374, 5.)

“I would once more call attention to the *divine part* of Christianity, as entirely distinct from its episodic additions . . . the *FACTS* of Christianity. These *facts* form *part* of the *great History of mankind*: they account for the present condition of things *in the world*: and we cannot deny them without involving ourselves in universal scepticism. . . . These, and other truths connected with them, are not collected merely from *texts* or *sentences* (sic) of Scripture; they are parts of its *records*.” (B. L. p. 390.)

SYSTEMS OF TEACHING.

The fragments of doctrine, thus exhibited in the Inaugural Lecture, wanting as they are in definiteness and fullness, still are so many portions of truth derived from the Church, although in many respects spoiled and corrupted, in many, inadequate through their manifold omissions. There is however one apparent peculiarity, which accounts for this obvious deficiency, but at the same time lessens our hope, that it will be repaired, viz. their apparent systematicalness. It will be remarkable to any one, who has even looked into the Articles of our Church, how little of systematizing has been admitted into them. It has in fact amounted only to this, that truths relating to the same subject are arranged together; as those on the Holy Trinity, the Scriptures, human agency, the Holy Sacraments, &c. but each truth is enunciated alone and independently, and its bearings upon others unexpressed. This is a great advantage; for thus each truth is set forth fully and entirely, as it exists in itself, unlimited and unrestrained, and having a value in and for itself, as being truth revealed by God, even before we consider it in connection with the other parts of revealed truth: whereas had each

been exhibited in connection with the other, there had been danger that those points, the bearings of which were not so obvious, would have been omitted or glossed over, or received and dwelt upon in relation to other truths only, not in themselves. This unsystematic teaching has been, by God's blessing, a great preservative of our Church; for doctrinal truth having been studied in connection with the Articles, (not, as in foreign Churches, in a systematic form,) we have inherited it much more purely, entirely, and impressively. Each separate truth has retained much more its own value.

Dr. Hampden, on the other hand—who in the Bampton Lectures so repeatedly objects to the ancient Church for unduly systematizing,—in his Inaugural Lecture, himself continually systematizes, i. e. he makes one truth depend upon the other, and evolves it out of that former truth. “I shall go on to point out,” he says, “how the right inculcation of the doctrine of ‘Christ crucified’ draws along with it the exposition of a number of other revealed truths no less holy and vital from their inseparable connection with it.” (p. 7.) “If we believe in the Atonement of a Divine Redeemer, and the Sanctification of a Divine Comforter, we cannot but be cordially disposed to receive the doctrines of Justification by Faith—of a day of Final Retribution and Judgment.” (p. 12.) “Nor, again, do I see how he who holds rightly the Incarnation and Atonement of our Lord, can look at his own nature, otherwise than in the language of the Article, as very far gone from original righteousness, &c.” (p. 13.) Now if by this, Dr. Hampden had meant to say that the whole of revealed truth was so connected together, that whoever failed to receive one truth rightly, would thereby injure his belief in the rest, this is true, and this we continually see; and on this ground the ancient Church guarded so diligently every portion of revealed truth. But then this principle applies to the whole range of Christian truth, as well to what in the eyes of men of this day appears abstract and unpractical (i. e. not immediately connected with practice), as to what they have selected as being

practical and influential ; nay perhaps most of all to those very points, which they think least connected with practice, the high and unutterable Mysteries of the Blessed Trinity.

But this most important truth is founded altogether on a different principle. That principle simply is, that since we have received all truth from God, we cannot cast aside any portion of it without injury : it matters not that we should see, or attempt to point out, *how* it would injure our reception of other truth. It must do so, because the truth is from God, and men would not receive it. The modern system, on the contrary, employs this principle *positively* ; that he who believes one truth, must believe the rest : it not only lays down one truth as the foundation, whereon other truths are to be built, but it evolves them out of it. “ Other foundation,” says St. Paul, “ can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ : ” he bids us lay this as the foundation of *our* teaching ; but he does not bid us to construct the rest of God’s teaching into one system upon it ; much less, to develope it therefrom ; and still less to make it depend upon the practicalness or influential character of this blessed Truth. And, in fact, the attempt ends in narrowing and paring down the Gospel truth. We so come to take some of the *relations* of those truths instead of the truths themselves (as, the Divinity of our Lord in relation only to His Atonement) and, in the end, single truths only, instead of the whole, as God has declared it to us in Holy Scripture. It is inexpressible how much the full reception of the truth is thus narrowed. Truth, moreover, instead of its intrinsic existence, is thus transferred entirely into the individual human mind ; it depends for its reception, not upon external authority, but upon man’s internal perception of its connection and harmony. It will then virtually in detail be much more pared down. To take an instance furnished by Dr. Hampden ; however the “ Atonement of a Divine Redeemer, and the Sanctification of a Divine Comforter,” may in the Divine Councils be connected with “ a day of Final Retribution,” so far from being disposed *simply* by the

belief in the one doctrine, to believe in the other, it will be in many minds, the very difficulty to reconcile them at all : we take each separately, as it is declared to us by God ; we take as our comfort that we shall be judged by “ that Man whom God hath ordained ;” but, in matter of fact, the habit of connecting all doctrines with that of our Redemption, in a way unauthorized by Scripture, has in many minds effaced the belief or thought of future Retribution altogether.

The difference between the systematizing of the present day, (into which Dr. Hampden has fallen,) and that of the Antient Church, consists in this ; that the Antient Church, employed it to fortify or enlarge, moderns to destroy. The Antient Church, when any truth was assailed, shewed its connection with other received truth ; or they shewed how one truth, *besides* its own intrinsic character, threw light on other truths, as that of the Incarnation of our Lord *also* bore upon the doctrine of the Sacraments. Moderns, by assuming that all revelation can only have a practical character, virtually set aside all which does not appear to them such, and so, at best, out of the fragments of the vast building of Christian truth, construct for themselves some petty edifice, wherein the massive and goodly stones, so fitly framed together as God formed it, are in truth out of proportion, and so themselves also are pared down. Let any one educated in this modern school think how cold to him are the glorious doxologies wherewith the Nicene Creed begins, and he will see how much of their faith men have lost. Unless they return, they must lose more. It was after men had contemplated those holy truths, on their own intrinsic account, that at the words “ for us men and for our salvation,” they fell on their knees and worshipped.

One point alone seems to result from this comparison between Dr. Hampden’s past and present statements ; and this is, in its degree, consolatory to the Church ; namely, that although Dr. Hampden has “ admitted into the intellect a philosophical system, “ in itself at variance with the Christian faith, it at

“ present lies there an uncongenial and foreign element, its whole consequences neither perceived nor entertained.” This was before anticipated ; and it is satisfactory, for the present, to find it so : but man cannot stand still ; and, after the recent example of one, who of late used the same language, and now is an avowed Socinian, it is fearful to think what may be the result. Yet though the systems of Dr. Hampden’s late works and the Inaugural Lecture in many points so strangely disagree, in others they strikingly agree : therein namely, that they virtually lay aside all which men regard as abstract, and select a portion of revelation as practical truth. In this way, the system of the Inaugural Lecture may, as before said, be regarded as the relics of the full system of the Church, whereof such parts have been put together, as that modern speculative system leaves. As reminiscences of that former teaching, it is valuable. Would only that Dr. Hampden could be at length startled at the tendency of speculations to which, on his own statement, the system of the Church is directly opposed, at once repudiate the tendencies of these last years, and cast himself altogether back upon his early, unspeculating faith ! Should he, by God’s blessing, be enabled to come to this result, all the disquiet, and distraction, and sorrow, which this unhappy question has spread from one end of the Church to the other, would be beyond all comparison requited. God knoweth, with how much reluctance, and dread of the probable scandal, and sacrifice of our own feelings, we have come to think each step which we have taken necessary ; yet were constrained to take them, as seeming to us necessary for the welfare of His Church. He also knoweth, how beyond all human gladness it would be, to see our misgivings removed, by a solemn and determined return on the part of Dr. Hampden to the principles and teaching of our Church.

Christ Church, March 26, 1836.

E. B. PUSEY.

* See Dr. Hampden’s Theological Statements and the Thirty-nine Articles compared. Pref. p. iv. vii.

BIBLIOTHECA PARVA THEOLOGICA.

A LIST OF BOOKS

RECOMMENDED TO

STUDENTS IN DIVINITY;

NOW SELLING AT THE PRICES AFFIXED, FOR READY MONEY, BY

J. H. PARKER, OXFORD.

The following list contains the titles of only a small number of works upon each subject. Some, which are most popular, and in the hands of every student, are omitted.

Those, which are printed in *Italics*, are recommended either as particularly valuable, or as condensing the substance of larger works.

Those, which have an asterisk prefixed, are of a more learned kind.

ATHEISM AND INFIDELITY.

Van Mildert, (Bishop of Durham,) An historical view of the rise and progress of Infidelity, with a refutation of its principles and reasonings. Boyle Lectures for 1802-1805. London, 1830, 2 vols. 8vo. bds. 1l. 1s. neat, 1l. 8s.

Paley, Natural Theology. London, 1819, 8vo. neat, 5s. 1825, 8vo. bds. 7s. 24mo. bds. 3s. 6d.

Bentley, A confutation of Atheism. Boyle Lecture, 1692. London, 1699, 4to. 5s. Oxford, 1809, 8vo. bds. 7s. neat, 10s.

* Clarke, Dr. S. A discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God. Boyle Lecture, 1704. And on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, 1705. London, 1732, 8vo. neat, 5s.

Harris, Dr. J. A refutation of the atheistical objections against the Being and Attributes of God. Boyle Lecture, 1698. London, 1703, 4to. neat, 5s.

NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

Leland, Advantage and necessity of the Christian Revelation.

London, 1764, 2 vols. 4to. *neat*, 1l. 1s. London, 1819,
2 vols. 8vo. *bds.* 14s. *neat*, 1l. 1s.

Stackhouse, Defence of the Christian Religion, and the necessity
of a divine revelation. London, 1731, 8vo. *neat*, 5s.

*Butler, The Analogy of Religion natural and revealed to the
constitution and course of nature.* London, 1736, 4to.
neat, 5s. Oxford, 1820, 8vo. *neat*, 12s. 1833, 12mo. *bds.*
4s. 6d.

Ellis, The knowledge of divine things from Revelation, not
from reason or nature. London, 1771, 8vo. 7s. 6d. 1811, 8vo.
bds. 10s. *neat*, 12s.

The Boyle Lectures. London, 1739, 3 vols. folio, *neat*, 3l. 13s. 6d.
An abridgment of them from 1692 to 1732, by G. Burnet,
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2 vols. 8vo. *neat*, 1l. 4s. 1808, *neat*, 1l. 1s.

Nicholls, Dr. Conference with a Theist. 5 vols. 12mo. 1703, 10s.
2 vols. 8vo. 1723, 8s. *fine copy*, 10s.

Conybeare, Bishop, Defence of revealed Religion. 1739, 8vo.
neat, 5s.

Skelton, Deism revealed. 1749, 2 vols. 8vo. *neat*, 11s. 1751,
2 vol. 12mo. 6s. or in his collected works. Dublin, 1770-83,
7 vols. *neat*, 2l. 8s. 1770, 6 vols. *neat*, 1l. 11s. 6d. Edited
by Lynam, 6 vols. 8vo. London, 1824, *bds.* 1l. 16s. *neat*, 3l.

Foster, Usefulness, truth, and excellency of the Christian
Revelation. 1731, 8vo. 4s. 1734, 8vo. *neat*, 5s.

* Smith, Cure of Deism; or the mediatorial scheme of Christ
the only true religion. 1737, 2 vols. 8vo. *neat*, 8s. *another*, 6s.

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

Jenkin, The reasonableness and certainty of the Christian Religion.

1698, 2 vols. 8vo. 6s. 1708, 2 vols. 8vo. 8s. 1721, 2 vols.
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* Kidder, Bishop, Demonstration of the Messias, especially against the Jews. 1726, folio, *neat*, 15s. 1684, 3 vols. 8vo. *neat*, 15s.

Paley's Evidences. London, 1823, 8vo. *bds.* 7s. 24mo. *bds.* 3s. 6d.

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Campbell, Dissertation on miracles, containing an examination of David Hume, Esq. in an Essay on Miracles. 1742, 8vo. *neat*, 8s. 1834, 8vo. *bds.* 5s. *neat*, 9s.

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Elsley's Annotations on the Gospels and Acts ; 1833, 2 vols. 8vo. *bds.* 19s. *neat*, 1l. 5s. *Slade's on the Epistles* ; 1829, 2 vols. 8vo. *bds.* 16s. *neat*, 1l. 4s. ; and *Dean Woodhouse's on the Apocalypse*, 1828. 8vo. *bds.* 11s. *neat*, 14s. 5 vols. *neat*, 3l. 3s.

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- Biscoe, *The history of the Acts of the holy Apostles confirmed from other authors, being the Boyle Lectures for 1736-7-8*. London, 1742, 2 vols. 8vo. *neat*, 14s. Oxford, 1829, 8vo. *bds.* 9s. 6d. *neat*, 13s.
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- Stillingfleet, *Discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity*, 1697, 8vo. 5s.; and *Discourse on Scripture mysteries*, 1696, 8vo. also contained in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, Oxford, 1825, 2 vols. 8vo. *bds.* 15s. 6d.
- Waterland, *Importance of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity*. 1734, 8vo. 5s. Cambridge, 1800, 8vo. *bds.* 5s. *neat*, 8s. (Vol. V. of Works.)

DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

- Waterland, *Four first volumes of Works*; containing, *Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a defence of some queries relating to Dr. Clarke's scheme of the Holy Trinity*. Cambridge, 1720, 8vo. 5s. [Parker,

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The necessary Tables have been constructed from calculations which have been examined and approved by an eminent Mathematician.

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|-------------------------------|---------|----|-----------------|--|--|---------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| Age of Child.                 |         |    | SINGLE PAYMENT. |  |  | ANNUAL PAYMENT,<br>until the<br>Age of Endowment. |    |    |
|                               | £.      | s. | d.              |  |  | £.                                                | s. | d. |
| 1                             | 68      | 2  | 0               |  |  | 6                                                 | 4  | 4  |
| 2                             | 70      | 2  | 9               |  |  | 6                                                 | 16 | 10 |
| 3                             | 72      | 2  | 10              |  |  | 7                                                 | 16 | 4  |
| 4                             | 74      | 4  | 2               |  |  | 8                                                 | 9  | 5  |
| 5                             | 76      | 12 | 10              |  |  | 9                                                 | 11 | 2  |
| 6                             | 78      | 18 | 10              |  |  | 10                                                | 18 | 5  |
| &c.                           | &c. &c. |    |                 |  |  | &c. &c.                                           |    |    |

| ON COMPLETING TWENTY-ONE YEARS. |         |    |                 |  |  |                                                   |    |    |
|---------------------------------|---------|----|-----------------|--|--|---------------------------------------------------|----|----|
| Age of Child.                   |         |    | SINGLE PAYMENT. |  |  | ANNUAL PAYMENT,<br>until the<br>Age of Endowment. |    |    |
|                                 | £.      | s. | d.              |  |  | £.                                                | s. | d. |
| 1                               | 55      | 7  | 5               |  |  | 3                                                 | 12 | 4  |
| 2                               | 57      | 0  | 7               |  |  | 3                                                 | 17 | 4  |
| 3                               | 58      | 14 | 10              |  |  | 4                                                 | 3  | 0  |
| 4                               | 60      | 10 | 0               |  |  | 4                                                 | 9  | 3  |
| 5                               | 62      | 6  | 3               |  |  | 4                                                 | 16 | 4  |
| 6                               | 64      | 3  | 9               |  |  | 5                                                 | 4  | 5  |
| &c.                             | &c. &c. |    |                 |  |  | &c. &c.                                           |    |    |



PAYMENTS, for assuring the sum of £100 to an actually born Child, payable on completing its Fourteenth or Twenty-first Year ; no part of such Premium *being returnable*.

| ON COMPLETING FOURTEEN YEARS. |  |                 |    |    |                                                   |    |    |  |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------------|----|----|---------------------------------------------------|----|----|--|
| Age of Child.                 |  | SINGLE PAYMENT. |    |    | ANNUAL PAYMENT,<br>until the<br>Age of Endowment. |    |    |  |
|                               |  | £.              | s. | d. | £.                                                | s. | d. |  |
| 1                             |  | 51              | 13 | 8  | 5                                                 | 13 | 8  |  |
| 2                             |  | 56              | 19 | 5  | 6                                                 | 7  | 8  |  |
| 3                             |  | 61              | 12 | 0  | 7                                                 | 4  | 2  |  |
| 4                             |  | 65              | 10 | 6  | 8                                                 | 2  | 7  |  |
| 5                             |  | 69              | 6  | 0  | 9                                                 | 5  | 1  |  |
| 6                             |  | 72              | 14 | 2  | 10                                                | 12 | 9  |  |
| &c.                           |  | &c. &c.         |    |    | &c. &c.                                           |    |    |  |

| ON COMPLETING TWENTY-ONE YEARS. |  |                 |    |    |                                                   |    |    |  |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------|----|----|---------------------------------------------------|----|----|--|
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| 2                               |  | 44              | 0  | 10 | 3                                                 | 11 | 3  |  |
| 3                               |  | 47              | 12 | 3  | 3                                                 | 17 | 10 |  |
| 4                               |  | 50              | 17 | 8  | 4                                                 | 4  | 4  |  |
| 5                               |  | 53              | 11 | 6  | 4                                                 | 11 | 0  |  |
| 6                               |  | 56              | 4  | 1  | 4                                                 | 19 | 10 |  |
| &c.                             |  | &c. &c.         |    |    | &c. &c.                                           |    |    |  |

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**REPORT**  
**OF THE**  
**PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE**  
**APPOINTED JANUARY 3, 1833,**  
**FOR RECEIVING**  
**SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE RELIEF**  
**OF THE**  
**DISTRESSES OF THE IRISH CLERGY.**


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**PUBLISHED**  
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**MDCCCXXXVI.**

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GOUGH SQUARE.

R E P O R T  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE APPOINTED JANUARY 3, 1833,  
&c. &c.

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*67 Lincoln's Inn Fields, Jan. 20, 1836.*

THE Committee appointed in London on the third of January, 1833, for receiving Subscriptions in aid of funds raised in Ireland for the relief of the distressed Clergy, having completed the duty entrusted to them, and a new fund having been opened on the third of December, 1835, respectfully submit the following account of their proceedings to the Subscribers and the Public.

Very soon after the illegal combination which was formed in Ireland against the payment of Tithes, a considerable number of the Clergy were involved in pecuniary distress; which had advanced to so great an extent in the year 1832, that many were constrained to accept the private benevolence of friends; and the necessity of a public subscription for their relief began to be suggested. This was, however, declined, partly from the honourable reluctance of the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland to accept the aid which would have been cheerfully proffered; and partly because it was reasonably to be hoped, that the lawless and alarming proceedings, which had given rise to the calamity, would be speedily put an end to, by the enforcement of the laws and the restoration of social order.

But this expectation was not fulfilled; and the distress at length became so severe and extensive, that the duty of relieving the sufferers could no longer be postponed. A Meeting was accordingly held at London House, St. James's Square, on Thursday, January 3, 1833, the Lord Bishop of London in the Chair; at which numerous letters, written by persons of the highest respectability resident in Ireland, were read; from which it appeared, that, in consequence of the illegal combination against the payment of Tithes, many of the Clergy and their families (notwithstanding that a portion of the Tithes for

1831 was, under the authority of a recent Act of Parliament, advanced by his Majesty's Government) were reduced to the greatest distress; that some had been obliged to break up their households, and leave their homes; some had for many months been supported by the hospitality of friends, or by assistance from other sources, in the shape of money, food, or clothing; that some had been compelled to abandon their Life Insurances; and that some were even in want of the common necessities of life for themselves and their families: and that, although assistance has been liberally dispensed by the Irish Prelates and others, to alleviate the most distressing cases, yet this relief was wholly inadequate to the present exigency. These facts being substantiated, the following Resolutions were passed unanimously.

1. That a Subscription be forthwith entered into, for the purpose of affording *immediate* relief to the Irish Clergy, under their present urgent distress.
2. That all sums collected be placed at the disposal of His Grace the ARCHBISHOP of ARMAGH, Lord Primate of all Ireland, who has kindly undertaken to distribute them to the several dioceses, as their respective necessities may seem to him to require.
3. That

|                                                             |                                                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| The Right Hon. and Right Rev. the<br>Lord Bishop of London, | The Hon. Mr. Justice Park,                              |
| The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of<br>Llandaff,              | Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart. M.P.                            |
| The Right Hon. Lord Francis Leveson<br>Gower,               | Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart. M.P.                            |
| The Right Hon. Lord Ashley,                                 | Sir Harry Verney, Bart. M.P.                            |
| The Right Hon. Lord Radstock,                               | The Rev. W. Dealtry, D.D., Chancellor<br>of Winchester, |
| The Right Hon. Lord Bexley,                                 | The Rev. J. W. Cunningham, M.A.                         |
| The Right Hon. Lord Chief Justice<br>Tindal,                | The Rev. John Lonsdale, B.D.                            |
| The Right Hon. Sir John Nichol,                             | William Alexander Mackinnon, Esq.                       |
|                                                             | Joshua Watson, Esq.                                     |
|                                                             | Joseph Wilson, Esq.                                     |

be a *Committee* to carry into effect the foregoing Resolutions, with power to add to their number.

4. That HENRY SYKES THORNTON, ESQ., be requested to act as *Treasurer*; and the Rev. WILLIAM HALE HALE, M.A., and the Rev. SAMUEL CHARLES WILKS, M.A., as *Secretaries*.

A second Meeting was held a few days afterwards, at the same place, at which His Grace the LORD ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY, who cordially promoted the object but had been unable



to attend at the former Meeting, presided. Further communications were laid before the Meeting, which not only confirmed the information previously received, but proved that the extent and pressure of distress were even greater than the Committee had supposed. Among these documents was a Letter addressed to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, dated Armagh, Jan. 5, 1833; from which the following is an extract:—

“From the uniform tenor of the letters which I have received from the South, I cannot help feeling the conviction that the distresses and sufferings of the Clergy in those parts are far too extensive, and too overwhelming, to be in any great degree alleviated by aid afforded out of private resources. The more distressing cases of individual calamity may, however, be met by your timely and Christian aid; and I feel authorized to say, that your Subscriptions, aided by our own, will be most gratefully received. The following are extracts from letters which I have received, in answer to those addressed by me to the several Dioceses.

“From the Diocese of Ossory.—‘If the subscription is not very large, it will, comparatively speaking, be useless; for I believe the Clergy of the dioceses of Ossory, Ferns, Waterford, Cork, and a large portion of Cashel, do not receive their Tithe. It is almost impossible to depict the terrible state of misrule under which the country is suffering. It is really almost past belief.’

“From the Diocese of Cork.—‘The distress and danger of the Clergy is extreme. Indeed, the danger to life is such as in most cases to overrule all other considerations. The savage threats denounced against the most exemplary Clergymen, render it quite unsafe for them in the remoter places to quit their dwellings; and in some glebe-houses a military force is stationed, for their necessary protection.’

“From the Diocese of Leighlin and Ferns.—‘With respect to the question put by your Lordship, I could scarcely form an opinion; because the evil is now no longer local, but has extended itself throughout the entire of the Southern Dioceses. The Clergy of Kildare, Ossory, Meath, Waterford, Cloyne, and parts of Limerick, are situated precisely in a similar position with the diocese of Leighlin. With us, as with many of them, the fact speaks for itself pretty plainly. Out of two years’ income no man has, almost in any case, received more than six months’; and *the majority have only received so much out of three years’ income*. The consequence, therefore, is, that those who have private fortunes (which to any extent are not very many), on account of the sudden and totally unexpected suspension of a large portion of their funds, being unable to meet their previous engagements, are fast getting into pecuniary embarrassments by borrowing and raising money; whilst those who have not private fortunes are actually *in want of the common necessities of life*: many have hitherto lived on the bounty of their friends; but as that is a means which cannot and ought not to last always, even this painful mode of relief has already failed many, and must eventually fail all. I may add, that I believe few clergymen in the country are not in the one or the other of the situations I mentioned above: and I state this from a very extensive knowledge and acquaintance amongst them.’

“I think it due” (continues the Primate) “to your Grace, and to those who, on the purest principles of Christian charity, have stood forward with you in aid

of the Irish Clergy, to state the magnitude and extent of the unprovoked persecution under which this deserving body of men are now labouring."

The Committee forthwith drew up and circulated an Appeal to the Public, embodying the foregoing facts, extracts, and resolutions, not doubting that so urgent a claim upon the sympathy and liberality of every friend of Christianity, Protestantism, and social order, would be warmly and promptly responded to. They abstained from referring to particular cases, the details of which (fully bearing out the above statement) were in their possession; the distress having already become so general as to affect the whole body of the Clergy in several dioceses, and a part of them in others. The number of Clergy, Incumbents and Curates, in those dioceses alone where it was most severe and overwhelming, amounted even then to nearly half the entire body of the Irish Clergy.

The sanguine expectations of the Committee were not only equalled, but exceeded, by the public liberality; so that in the course of the first three months they were enabled to remit to Ireland various sums, amounting in the whole to 20,000*l.*; and, the subscription having in the course of a few months advanced towards 50,000*l.*, they felt themselves authorized to announce that they would not urge further contributions for the present; trusting that what they had collected would suffice for an exigency, which they hoped would be but temporary; and feeling assured, that, should a renewal of the appeal unhappily become necessary, they might confidently rely upon the public liberality, which they had already so fully proved. In this confidence they urged his Grace the Archbishop of Armagh to request his Most Reverend and Right Reverend Brethren to leave no case of pressing distress, that came within the scope of the fund, unrelieved; and to endeavour to discover among their Clergy those whose reluctance to make known their sufferings, or to accept relief, might deprive them of the honourable aid which their fellow-Protestants were anxious to tender.

The Committee found from the first the propriety of the regulation which they had adopted, of confiding the funds from time to time, as wanted, to the Primate, to be by him apportioned to the respective Prelates for their Clergy; not only as being a due recognition of constituted order and authority, and as securing the necessary responsibility for the proper use of the public bounty; but also as sparing the feelings of a body of men, of high education and conspicuous station in society, who had been accustomed to dispense liberally from their own funds, and to

be the confidential almoners of others, and not themselves the receivers of assistance, however delicately or kindly bestowed. The sound judgment, indefatigable exertion, and affectionate solicitude, evinced by his Grace in administering the fund during three years, amidst the many other claims upon his time and attention, have been gratefully appreciated by the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland, and deserve the most cordial and respectful acknowledgments of the Subscribers and the Committee. His Grace has been zealously and judiciously assisted by his Episcopal Brethren, who have expressed the greatest satisfaction in having been enabled to alleviate the sufferings of their Clergy, whose privations were well known to them, and whom in many instances they had not been slack to aid from their own diminished resources. A similar testimony of respect must also be paid to various Protestant Noblemen and Gentlemen in Ireland, who had promptly relieved many cases of urgent distress; and, as already mentioned, the funds raised in England were originally intended to be only auxiliary to those furnished in Ireland, though in the end the extent of the pressure rendered it necessary for the Protestants of England to claim a larger proportion of the honourable duty. The amount remitted from Ireland to this fund has been 1957*l.* 10*s.*; but this is but a small portion of the aid known to have been afforded to the distressed Clergy in various ways by their Protestant countrymen.

The Committee will now lay before the subscribers a series of extracts from letters written soon after the fund came into operation, which will shew the character of the distress, and the benefits which resulted from the relief administered. These passages are not presented as statistical returns, but as general illustrations, such as the nature of the case permits; and the Committee feel that they shall best consult the wishes of the Subscribers by giving the facts without names or local references. The Committee did not think it necessary to learn these particulars themselves; and where the explanatory details given in their correspondence have confidentially supplied them, the names have always been read in blank at their Board. An exception as to names will be made where the facts are general, and also in the case of letters from the Archbishops, as their sphere of superintendence ranges over a whole province; but allusions to particular dioceses might in some instances be too local.

The following is from a letter, dated March 29, 1833, giving an account of the disposal of the sum of 501*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* being a



portion of the first remittance made by the Primate for the use of the diocese of ———.

"The Bishop of ——— presents his compliments to the London Committee for the Relief of the distressed Clergy of Ireland, and sends the annexed statements in consequence of a letter which he has this day received from the Primate [of Ireland] to the truly charitable fund so munificently furnished by the people of England. With the individuals of his diocese he has been in constant correspondence, and trusts, that in no case has any money been advanced which would not fully meet with the approbation of the Committee.

+ "Five Beneficed Clergymen £20 each, offered as a loan or gift. Thankfully acknowledged—most received it as a loan. Four of those Clergymen have forty-five children. Payment of tithes entirely suspended.—Subsequently, £25 each, sent to two of the above. To another of them £ 34, to pay an insurance on his life.

"£65 advanced towards the payment of two Curates. £100 advanced for the payment of three Curates. These sums to be repaid.

"£112, 5s. 2d. advanced to a Rector, who states himself, and is known to be, in great difficulties, although his parish is of considerable annual value when paid. At present nothing is paid. This sum is advanced to pay a Life Insurance. He says, 'I had to suspend one son in his medical course, and to withdraw another from his mercantile pursuits.' Again: 'My four sons are now at home through this necessity, and, under Providence, are our protection in this threatened abode. I have further to state, that since September last I have been supported by the credit given to me.'

"£40 sent to a very worthy Clergyman. He says, in his letter, 'It is a very remarkable circumstance, that your Lordship's order on the Bank arrived just at the moment the last shilling of what, through the goodness of a gracious Providence, our large family has been living on, was spent.'"

The foregoing extract exhibits most of the different heads of suffering alluded to throughout the whole correspondence. The following passage from a letter written by the Archbishop of ———, in reference to his own diocese, may be added.

"The first 300*l.* was forwarded as a *gift* to ten of the Clergy most in want. The last 500*l.* to eleven others, as a *loan*, which they hoped to re-pay hereafter, if again in possession of their incomes. Several of them have been thus enabled to pay up the assurance upon their lives, which would otherwise have been lost. Upon the prospect of re-payment I can say nothing."

The two following passages, from letters written in the same month (March 1833), shew the wish of the distributors of the relief (a wish in perfect consonance to that of the Clergy themselves) not to make use of the fund so long as any private resources remained unexhausted. The first letter is from the Bishop of ———, who says:—

"Meanwhile the distress of the Clergy is rapidly on the increase, and I expect shortly to expend the whole of the sum entrusted to my care. Many seemed hitherto to expect that a balance of the sums due for tithe in former years, made over as security to Government for moneys advanced to them last year, would by this time have been available; but in this they are disappointed,

The sums heretofore received by the Clergy of ———, diocese of ———, little exceeded £12,000 per annum; a circumstance which made me conclude, in a former statement to your Grace, that by far the greater number of the Incumbents possessed private resources, enabling them to fulfil the duties of their respective stations. I continue to be of the same opinion; and that the chief difficulty will be, how to pay the salaries of their Curates."

The second letter is from an individual who had assisted in the administration of the fund in another diocese.

"The Clergy of the diocese of ——— are, I apprehend, less distressed than those of most other dioceses; still there are many cases of actual want. All (with the exception of some of the Incumbents of the city of ———, have arrears of income due to them; but the suspension of payment presses, of course, very unequally. There are many who have private resources adequate to meet the exigency. There are others (and these form the largest class), who have credit enough to enable them to borrow; although generally, I believe, on disadvantageous terms. In the application of the money confided to me, I have restricted the grants to those whose distress has been clearly produced by the non-payment of tithe, or ministers' money, and who have neither private property, nor friends able to assist them."

The next two short passages, from two letters written by the Bishops of Ferns and Ossory, in the same month as the preceding extracts, exhibit the large amount of arrears of Tithes due, even at that period, in those two dioceses. The Committee might refer to the returns afterwards made to Parliament, for a general statement of arrears; but they think it better to confine their report to their own correspondence, as shewing the manner in which the case opened upon them in the course of their investigations.

The Bishop of Ferns writes:—

"An order having issued from the House of Commons, requiring a return of the arrears due to the Clergy on the first of last November, I have received returns from sixty-four parishes in the dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns, amounting to £54,880. Some are nearly three years in arrear.

"I received through the Primate 1,700*l.*, and have distributed 1,640*l.* to such of the Clergy as I judged to be most in want."

The Bishop of Ossory writes:—

"I have received through the Primate 1,400*l.*, which I have distributed among my Clergy.

"Your Lordship will, I doubt not, be surprised to learn that the arrears, due to the Clergy of my diocese, amount to the sum of 35,000*l.*, and upwards."

It appears from this last extract, that the sum thus distributed, though considerable, was less than one-twenty-fifth part of the arrears due in this diocese, even at that early period of privation.

The Dean of ———, in writing to the London Committee under date of April 5, 1833, upon the same subject, mentions a circumstance which shews the spirit of intimidation and outrage

in which the conspiracy against the just and legal claims of the Clerical Tithe-owner was carried on.

“There is at present due half of the tithes for 1831, and the entire of 1832; and to those whose parishes are under the Composition Act there will be due another half-year the first of May; and as to the parishes that were not under composition, it was impossible to value them last year, and it will be generally so this year; for, in the present state of the country, no person dare attempt it.”

The Committee will close the extracts from their correspondence, during the first year of their operations, with the following interesting communication, which they cannot allow themselves to withhold from the Subscribers.

“To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Gentlemen and Clergy, composing the London Committee for the Relief of the Distressed Irish Clergy.

“We, the Ministers of the United Church in the Diocese of Elphin, assembled in the Cathedral, on the 8th day of October, 1833, desire to express through you our heartfelt gratitude for the Christian sympathy and active benevolence of our English brethren, manifested during the severity of trial to which we have been exposed.

“Though we can with truth affirm that many of our number, even in this diocese, have endured much privation, yet a few only, under the most urgent difficulties, have hitherto availed themselves of your bounty.

“We ‘bow our knees’ with thankfulness before our Heavenly Father, who hath moved you to remember your afflicted brethren here, and enabled you to extend that timely aid, which has cheered the spirits of many a suffering member of Christ’s body.

“We trust, brethren, that our God has been with us in this, which may be called the beginning of sorrows; and we earnestly pray that His presence may sustain us, should we be compelled even to walk through the fires, in the endeavour to preserve to our beloved country the blessings of our Apostolic Church.

“We are assured you will receive our acknowledgments in the same spirit of affection in which they are offered. May you experience in this matter that ‘it is more blessed to give than to receive;’ and by the good providence of our God may you be exempted from such privations as have called forth your beneficence on our behalf.

“‘Now we beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with us in your prayers to God for us that we may be delivered from them that do not believe.’

“Signed at the request and in behalf of the Clergy,

“J. ELPHIN, Chairman.”

The Committee having thus illustrated, by extracts from their correspondence, the difficulties under which the Clergy of Ireland were labouring in the spring of 1833, and the nature of the relief afforded by the fund committed to their management, do not think it necessary to follow up the detail during the whole period which has since intervened; but will pass over at once to the autumn of 1835, and shew, by extracts from their cor-



respondence at that period, what continued to be the condition of the Clergy, and the benefits which had resulted from the aid afforded to them. That aid had been more sparingly bestowed than the Committee wished; for the Clergy in general were unwilling, from the best motives, to make known their wants, or to accept relief, without being pressed by dire necessity; and the Irish Bishops were anxious to use the funds committed to their discretion with care and economy. The Committee were constrained to overcome this reluctance; and on various occasions—and among others at a meeting in July 1835, at which the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam, and the Bishops of Kildare, Elphin, Cloyne, and Cork, who were then in London, favoured them with their attendance—they assured their Most Reverend and Right Reverend visitors of the earnest wish of the contributors, and of the Committee, that the funds should be forthwith dispensed with less reserve; more especially should the proceedings in Parliament leave the Irish Clergy exposed for another indefinite period to the aggravated evils which have been before mentioned.

That those evils had not diminished, but on the contrary had greatly increased, appears from the following letter from the Archbishop of Tuam to the Primate, dated July 28, 1835.

“Two years ago I should without hesitation have given to your Grace as my opinion, that the distress of the Clergy was much more severely felt in the South than in any other part of Ireland; but now I fear (except it may be otherwise in parts of the North of Ireland) the distress is universal. It is only necessary to know the fact that the tithe property of the Clergy is in most part withheld from them, and their wants can easily be conceived. And I cannot but remind your Grace of their great patience and forbearance under their painful privations. When all are great sufferers, it is not easy to make a selection of cases standing in need of relief; but I have a Clergyman so reduced that his son has been obliged to plant his potatoes, the almost exclusive and invariable food of his family—a family of eleven in number.—Another Clergyman informs me that he cannot well describe the sufferings of his family, a wife and five children, for the last two years. On account of his tithe property being withheld, he has not had more than two quarters of mutton used in his house during that time, and the only food for his family has been occasionally bacon, herrings, and such like. The rain penetrates several parts of his house; and he cannot procure straw to thatch it. His children could not attend church regularly the whole of last winter, for want of shoes. Much more does this gentleman say, but it is needless to trouble your Grace further upon his case.—I have many unpaid Curates (of course in great want) from total inability in their Rectors to pay them; and many others have received notice from their employers that they must not look to them for remuneration for the future, for they have neither private nor professional means with which to pay them. I have Clergymen who have insured their lives in order to create provision for their families; in the payment of the annual premium (except for very extraordinary effort of friends) they must

have failed. In short, I scarcely know a Clergyman in my four dioceses that is not reduced to much distress ; no doubt, comparatively, some are less so than others. Should your Grace think it necessary, I can easily furnish a detailed statement of the bitter trials endured by every Clergyman in my diocese. It is right that I should give utterance, in the name of my Clergy, as well as my own, to *our heartfelt* gratitude to those benevolent gentlemen who have with such Christian spirit, so zealously, so warmly, and so successfully interested themselves in their behalf, and have been the means of affording relief to so many of them."

In perfect coincidence with this testimony of the Archbishop of Tuam is the following, from a letter written by the Bishop of ———, under date of July 1.

"Owing to a natural and laudable reluctance to complain until the last extremity, I can only arrive at a knowledge of particular cases from inquiries through neighbours and friends of the parties. That embarrassments are not confined to a few cases, is most certain. I know that very many respectable Clergymen were obliged to borrow money for travelling expenses to the late Visitation, and that the usual subscriptions to charitable institutions, and to schools, must fail. The diocesan schoolmaster, too, is unpaid that small pittance which the Clergy are now unable to discharge. I shall, for the satisfaction of the Committee, state a few cases ; but the number is, and will be, so great, that to particularize will be, I fear, to mislead."

His Lordship mentions several cases ; as, for instance—

"Rev. ——— : small income, unpaid ; eight daughters.

"Rev. ——— : very small income ; wife and twelve children.

"Rev. ——— : old and epileptic ; obliged to keep a Curate ; large family, in deep distress.

"I need not go through more cases, nor state special amount of income—they are all unpaid—of considerable amount, if paid.

"All the above Clergymen reside, and are regular, so far as health permits, in the discharge of their parochial duties.

"I have not referred to the important cases of *Life Insurance*, which are numerous."

The two following passages, from letters written also in July 1835, will be gratifying to the Subscribers, as shewing the spirit in which their aid has been accepted, and the benefits which it has afforded. The Bishop of Elphin, addressing the Archbishop of Armagh, writes :

"I am sure it will be gratifying to the Committee for the Relief of the distressed Clergy to learn that their bounty, administered through your Grace, has afforded to the distressed Clergy of my diocese most seasonable relief, and was most thankfully and gratefully received."

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin writes :

"It must afford a satisfaction, though a melancholy one, to the liberal contributors to the relief of the Irish Clergy, to be assured, as I can assure them in respect of my own Dioceses, that their seasonable bounty has afforded aid, though necessarily inadequate, yet most acceptable, to many most deserving and distressed Clergymen ; and that it has been in many instances reluctantly ac-

cepted—in many refused—with the warmest feelings of gratitude for the sympathy shewn by their benefactors.”

The following statements are copied from a paper containing the cases of claims of nearly thirty Clergymen in one diocese, who had recently made known their wants to their Bishop. A few are extracted as a specimen.

“Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, has received in two years no more than 82*l.*—no other property—no glebe house or land; he is resident, and has a wife and eight children.

“Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, (resides): received last year 2*l.* 10*s.*, nothing this year; no other property; has a wife and thirteen children.

“Rev. ———, Rector of ———, (resides): no other property. He has this year received no more than 85*l.*; has two churches, and pays one Curate the regulated salary.

“Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, (resides): has received nothing this year; is called upon to support several relatives, and, having no other property, is reduced to great distress.

“Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, (resides): has received only 67*l.* He has been obliged to pawn, for the procuring the common necessities of life, articles to the amount of more than 150*l.*, and is reduced to the greatest want.

“Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, (resides): has received scarcely any thing; has a large and increasing family; and possesses nothing but his church preferment.

“Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, (resides). Since November 1833, has received for tithes no more than 11*l.* He is still labouring under extreme difficulties, notwithstanding the bounty of £60 which he received in December last from the Relief Fund in London.

“Rev. ———, Rector of ———, (resides). Has in the last two years received no more than 90*l.*; has a wife and nine children: expended a considerable sum in repairing an old glebe-house; and, having no private property, is reduced to great distress.”

In another diocese, the Bishop presents to the Primate the following, among various similar cases.

“No. 1, is possessed of two livings, worth about £195 per annum. Since November 1833, he has received but 27*l.* from his benefices, and is in debt about 32*l.*, which he has no means of paying. Has a wife and three children.

“No. 2, has one living, at ———, out of which he has received 3*l.* less than the annual charge upon it; having, since Nov. 1, 1833, received only 8*l.* He has a wife and ten children; and is now in treaty for the sale of a small tenement, to pay his debts. An insurance on his life must be given up soon, if the premium is not paid.

“No. 3. A Curate, whose Rector, unable to pay, owes him one year and a half's salary. He has no other support than his salary.

“No. 4. Curate, similar to the last—two years' salary due. An important parish, in danger of losing spiritual consolation.

“No. 5, is possessed of a living worth £195 by the year; and since Nov. 1, 1833, has not received one shilling from it. Has no other means to support himself and the widow of his predecessor, who was murdered on his glebe-land.”

The Committee will now add a few passages from letters written



in October and November, bringing the facts down to the period when the new and enlarged Committee was formed.

It will have been seen, that from the formation of the fund much provident anxiety had been shewn, upon the part of the Bishops of Ireland, to prevent that serious, and often irreparable, calamity to a Clergyman's family, dependent upon his life,—the lapse of life insurances. The following passage in a letter from the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne\*, dated Nov. 17, 1835, shews that this important object had continued to be kept prominently in view.

“I shall endeavour to disburse whatever sum may come into my hand with economy and fidelity. To preserve the insurances for the benefit of families I have always considered of the first importance. It will be a matter of no small difficulty to correspond with and investigate the comparative claims of many distressed Clergymen in Cloyne. It shall, however, be done to the best of my judgment. The crisis is a most fearful one. The contributions of the English have been noble; and our gratitude should be, and is, suitable to the liberality.”

Most of the preceding letters are from Prelates. The Committee will now present the substance of two recent ones from private Clergymen, whose statements respecting the prevalence of the distress carry the greater weight, because they are evidently forced upon the writers, who wished to hope the best, and were cautious of listening to exaggerated representations. One of them says:—

“Without at all magnifying the evil, I do believe the relief fund was most seasonable; not indeed in keeping them from utter destitution, to which few of the Clergy are so dependent upon their livings as to be reduced to, but in keeping them from very great privations, and preventing many from incurring debts for the maintenance of their families, which otherwise would have been unavoidable, and most ruinous to the future condition of them and their families. As to expenditure, almost every Clergyman of my acquaintance reduced it within the smallest possible bounds, being generally satisfied with the plainest and most inconvenient mode of living; the power to carry on which, in many instances, was entirely due to the Relief Fund. I believe very many insurances were given up, and very many more were enabled to be continued in consequence of the same assistance. To a large young family, particularly of females, this is a subject of such importance, that I should consider that the father who was compelled to discontinue such, was in as destitute a condition as he could well be placed. I have heard of several cases of the kind. A great many (of which I was one myself) avoided *extreme* distress by sending away their families amongst their relations, where they were fortunate enough to have such an opportunity of relief; my family were absent in this manner for nearly two

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\* Cloyne became annexed to Cork, according to the Act of Parliament, at the decease of Bishop Brinkley in September. That Prelate had attended a meeting of the Committee, as before stated, when in London last July, and one of the foregoing extracts is from one of his letters, though, the details being local, the name is not affixed.

years. This alternative is not a pleasing one, nor one that will not, in most cases, wear itself out in the end ; but it certainly was the best resource the Clergy had in their late distressing circumstances. I saw, in a number of the University Magazine, some months ago, several letters from Clergymen, which certainly described a state of utter destitution in many more instances than I had any idea existed. This leads me to suppose, that, bad as we were in this diocese generally, our brethren in the southern ones were still worse. I do not think, on the whole, the state of the Irish Clergy was much exaggerated. It is true, particular strong cases may have been put prominently forward, in order to increase the amount of subscriptions ; but without those subscriptions, I really am of opinion the sufferings of the Irish Clergy would have been twenty-fold greater. In fact, it is hard to say to what pitch they might not have amounted ; and I conceive they owe a debt of gratitude to your Grace, as well as to all those benevolent individuals who interested themselves about them, which they can never repay, and I am quite convinced they never will forget."

The other extract is from a letter to the Primate (dated Nov. 27) from a Clergyman in a county in which the pressure of distress had been less heavy than in many other places, and where aid had been administered by his Grace, both from his own funds and those of the London Committee.

"It gives me great pleasure to state, that, from personal communication with my brethren here, who have received aid from these two sources, I can assure you that the relief granted was all that they could have expected ; and fully met such difficulties as, if they had not been obviated, would have forced some to leave their residences, and others to have found their homes very inconvenient indeed. I speak from my interview with my brethren yesterday and to-day ; and I feel joy in being able to speak upon such positive authority, and more in the heartiness with which utterance was given by every one of them for your kind and anxious care of them, and in the advancement of a large sum from your own, and next from the fund confided to you for our relief, with your repeated watchfulness that it should be justly and freely administered. Indeed, if in either case an undue parsimony has been used, the blame rests upon me, who was too easily convinced by the delicacy of those who were to benefit by these funds. I feel, however, quite at ease on this point, from my communications with my friends yesterday and to-day.

"But though privations such as have been felt in the South and the West have not been ours, much, very much distress and anxiety has been and is still felt. Every where I found domestic arrangements made to conform with reduced and uncertain incomes. These privations would have been less painful, if the prospects of the future had justified the expectation of a termination to them—or rather, of no increase to them ;—but I learnt, with pain, that Policies of Insurance, connection with the Armagh Benevolent Clerical Society, a discontinuance of subscription to the Association for discountenancing Vice, and to Dispensaries for the Poor in the district, and also of aid to Parish Schoolmasters, had been the necessary and unavoidable consequence of the incomes of the Clergy being withheld from them ; and that, too, not only on the part of those who had received assistance from these funds, but of others, who had been left to their own private and limited resources in these days of severe trial. I cannot but think, from all I know, that much positive injury has been sustained by the people, in consequence of the exemplary endeavours of parish Clergymen



to uphold rationally and charitably such institutions and courses, being discontinued from necessity. It is pleasing to think, that, on inquiry, I find the humblest class of parishioners not rejoicing in the misfortunes of the Established Clergy."

Many allusions to the case of Curates occur in the foregoing extracts; but it may be well to copy one instance more in detail, as shewing the distress to which the Stipendiary, as well as the Beneficed Clergy, are exposed from the non-payment of tithes. The following is dated Nov. 28, 1835:—

"The Rev. ———, Rector of the Union of ——— (of one of the parishes composing which I have been Curate for the last eight years), died suddenly in July last, *owing me an arrear of salary* amounting to 260*l.*, which from time to time he had been unable to *pay by reason of his inability to collect his tithe rents* for the last *three years*. Immediately after his death, Bond-judgment Creditors laid executions upon all his effects, far exceeding the amount of his assets, and thus deprived me of all hopes of ever receiving a penny of my salary. Subsequently my landlord seized upon every thing *in my possession*, for rent and arrears due to him. I have been myself in a very delicate state of health for the last two years. The non-payment of my salary, so long my only means of supporting a helpless family of seven children, had brought upon us unavoidable and severe distress previously to the death of my Rector; while the total loss of it then, and consequent events, have necessarily subjected us to such privations and sufferings as I shall forbear to detail."

In answer to the demand for a statement of the facts of the case up to a recent date, with a view to renewed subscriptions, the Archbishop of Tuam writes to the Primate, November 7:—

"I know not how your Grace's English correspondents can want information as to the dire distress of the Irish Clergy, almost universally, when they must be aware that, with little exception, there is now due to every Clergyman in Ireland two years' tithe-composition rent. I believe there is inconceivable distress in all classes of our body, and it matters little whether a man has 150*l.* per annum, or 1000*l.*, if almost the whole is taken from him. Your Grace may be assured I have not neglected any such cases as I have adduced, out of the means you have entrusted to my disposal. I thank your Grace for the offer of more money: at present I do not want it: when I do, I will trouble you: you may be assured of my frugal disposal of it to cases alone of real distress."

In the foregoing details the Committee have, for the most part, confined themselves to general classes of facts, abstaining as much as possible from personal narratives of painful incidents; but had they thought it desirable or necessary they might have detailed many cases of extreme individual suffering. The following, for example, is one of very recent date.

"The Rev. ——— was for three years Curate of the parish of ———, and highly respected. The Bishop of the Diocese, in consequence, gave him a living two years ago, of which he has *never received one shilling*. He has nine children, and his wife is daily expecting her confinement; *every portable article of furniture* has been sold to purchase food: and they are without the means of providing clothing for the inclement season."



The following is another, as detailed in a letter to the Bishop of London:—

“I have been thirty-three years a humble Minister in God’s Church; constantly resident: I have been obliged to sell my furniture and stock, to pay debts, and obtain a temporary supply of the necessaries of life; reserving merely that portion required for a bed-room and sitting-room. I have been obliged to permit my wife, who became so alarmed at the state of the country and threatening dangers, that she was losing her health, to leave Ireland. I have found it necessary to send out six of my seven children, one being too young, as tutors and governesses, thankful to find board and lodging for them. I have been necessitated to take my son’s name off the College books, being unable to pay his bills. I am burthened with debt, and unable to pay my creditors; debt incurred for the necessaries of life, and due before total inability to pay became apparent. My glebe-house is closed up, as if in a state of siege. At night it is necessary to have bolts, bars, and bullet-proof planks to the windows and doors! here is discomfort and suffering! I may write, that I have suffered the loss of all things. My life, through the sparing mercy of God, remains, though that life has been several times threatened, and previously to our last persecutions was attempted to be taken; a bullet having been fired at me on my glebe land. My difficulties have been a good deal increased by great exertion made to prepare my children for active useful life, educating them so that they might earn their bread, and serve their fellow-creatures.”

It will be seen from the two following extracts, that the Irish Prelates have yielded to the wishes of the Committee and the public in enlarging the scale of relief; and the highly liberal subscriptions to the new fund are a sufficient proof that in so doing they have not trusted in vain, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to the sympathy and benevolence of their fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians.

The first extract is from a letter of an Irish Bishop, dated Nov. 23, addressed to the Primate.

“I beg leave to mention, that I could have circulated all the money placed by your Grace at my disposal for the relief of my Clergy, amongst them long before this time, and more too, had it been forthcoming; but, in truth, unless when a very urgent case, which would admit of no delay, presented itself, I have been anxious to hold it over as long as possible, being aware that in the spring season the distress will become more severe than it has yet been. In consequence, however, of your Grace’s communications, I shall immediately proceed to a more general distribution of this money. I can assure your Grace there will be no lack of just claimants. I shall state two or three cases now lying before me, which I think will satisfy the Committee of the truth of my assertion. The Rev. ———, Rector of the Union of ———, is reduced to so great distress that he has been obliged to retire from his benefice, not having the means of supporting his family in so expensive a place. His benefice is nominally worth 700*l.* a year; he is at present obliged to keep three curates. He has received not quite one third of the tithes of 1834.

“The ——— of ——— [naming a Church Dignitary] *has not received one shilling of his tithes for the last three years, except that portion of them which is paid by Lord ———. He is in consequence in the greatest distress, having*

a wife and seven young children. He has been, I may say, almost entirely supported by the funds of the London Committee for the last year and a half, with the exception of the little assistance he got from myself. His beneficence ought to produce him 400*l.* a year. He has two churches, therefore is obliged to keep a Curate.

“The Rev. ———, Vicar of ———, eighty years of age, has not for the last two years received one farthing, except about 30*l.* of the tithe of 1834. He has proceeded by civil bill against numbers, and has in most cases obtained decrees in his favour, but no one dare execute them. He *has been reduced* in consequence to the greatest distress. I could bring forward several instances of the same description; indeed, with the exception of the few cases mentioned in my last letter, all my clergy are in a similar situation.”

The second extract is from a letter from the Primate to the Lord Bishop of London, dated Nov. 21.

“In consequence of your letter of the 16th inst., and of similar ones from influential persons in different parts of England, I have directed our Bishops to extend the relief at their disposal in as prompt and effectual a manner as they may deem expedient. I am afraid that the 16,000*l.* at command, which we have husbanded, as the generosity of the English public seem to apprehend, with a too frugal hand, will be in consequence speedily expended; and it is to be kept in mind, that a considerable space of time must necessarily elapse before any remedial measure can be effected from Parliament.

“For the future, we must then trust to the good providence of God, and to the kind offices of our Christian brethren.”

In a letter still more recent—Dec. 24—his Grace says:

“The sum we had in hand has been speedily distributed, as I foresaw it would be, when we were assured that our funds would be replenished by fresh efforts of British benevolence. I continue to receive from the Clergy letters in which they express their warm gratitude for the relief which has been afforded them, and which, I am sorry to say, prove the extent of their privations and sufferings.”

The Committee have the satisfaction of stating to the Subscribers, that their bounty has been administered in the most economical manner, the management having been conducted by gratuitous agency; so that they have remitted to the Primate of all Ireland (clear of the necessary charges of printing, advertising, postage, stationery, and clerks) the sum of 53,626*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*, for the apportionment of which to the different dioceses his Grace has regularly accounted.

The Committee wish to record their most respectful thanks to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the encouragement and assistance which he has afforded to them, in their exertions to discharge the trust confided to them; and to their Chairman, the Lord Bishop of London, who, amidst his numerous and important engagements, has, during the three years of their office, devoted much of his valuable time and personal exertion in presiding at their deliberations, and corre-

sponding with the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland ; and has also permitted the Committee to hold their meetings at his Lordship's residence. The Committee and Subscribers are also greatly indebted to H. S. Thornton, Esq., for the zealous and efficient discharge of his responsible duties as Treasurer ; and to the Rev. W. H. Hale, and the Rev. S. C. Wilks, for their active and watchful attention, and gratuitous labours, as joint Secretaries of the trust. They would likewise return their best thanks to the Bankers and others who have received subscriptions ; and to the many active friends who have assisted in raising and remitting funds in various parts of the kingdom.

The operation of the fund has been restricted to the relief of actual want, no portion of it having been applied to legal expenses in the recovery of Tithes. However useful such an appropriation might have been, the Committee considered that it did not come within the pledge under which the subscriptions were raised.

In presenting the foregoing Report to their constituents, the Committee have confined themselves to a relation of the facts connected with the discharge of their duty ; not thinking it necessary to point out the causes of that distress, which so severely tries the Christian patience of a most exemplary and valuable body of Clergy.

How long the present afflicting state of things will be permitted to continue, it is not for the Committee to attempt to conjecture ; but sure they are, that while it lasts, the sympathy and liberality of English Protestants will not be wanting for the relief of their Irish brethren. They have a sufficient pledge of this, in the readiness with which the people at large have responded to the call which has recently been made upon them, for renewed exertions in a cause which is perceived and felt to be the cause, not only of the Irish Clergy and her Established Church, but of Protestantism itself.



A SECOND SUBSCRIPTION has been opened, at a Public Meeting held at Freemason's Hall, December 3, 1835—His Grace the Lord ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY in the Chair—in aid of which donations will be received by H. S. THORNTON, Esq., the Treasurer, at Messrs. Williams, Deacon, and Co.'s, Birch Lane; and by the following other London Bankers: Messrs. Coutts and Co.; Drummond; Gosling and Sharpe; Hammersley and Co.; Hoares; Jones, Lloyd, and Co.; Pugets and Co.; Sir C. Scott and Co.; Smith, Payne, and Co.; and Twinings;—by the following Booksellers: Messrs. Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo Place; Hatchard, Piccadilly; Seeley, Fleet Street; Nisbet and Co., Berners Street; Roake and Varty, and Parker, Strand;—by Mr. STRETTON, the Assistant Secretary, 67 Lincoln's-Inn Fields;—and likewise (by special permission of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor) at the Mansion House.

*The Committee strongly recommend the formation of LOCAL and PAROCHIAL COMMITTEES, for the purpose of obtaining Subscriptions. The Corrected Report of the Speeches delivered at Freemason's Hall, may be had at any Bookseller's, price 3d., or 2s. 6d. per dozen.*









